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WEEKLY NOTES.

UP to the last day of January, the Democrats of the House seemed quite determined on carrying the joint resolution on the Electoral count, offered in the Senate by Mr. MORGAN. They then abandoned it, because of the absence of a considerable number of their own members from their places. We are glad that this occurrence brings to public attention the fact that so many Congressmen draw their pay without doing their work. Few, perhaps, are so bad as Senator SHARON of Nevada. Some hold themselves excused by reason of serious illness. But a good number are simply engaged, as Senator SHARON has been, in earning money elsewhere, without relinquishing their claim to Congressional pay. While this is true of Congress, can it be expected that the spirit of devotion to duty will reign in the departments they control? Clearly, for the sake of the whole country and of all its departments of service, we need some measure to put an end to this evil. The simplest would be payment for actual attendance.

One Democrat apologized for the absence of his brethren by saying that since November a good many of them had lost their interest in politics. This is likely enough, but it shows what a low and mistaken idea of legislative duty we have inherited from England, that our legislative halls should be thought of merely as the field of party victories. And it is as impolitic as it is unprincipled. The defeated party might show, by their magnanimous devotion to the public welfare in the hour of their disaster, that they were worthy of the popular confidence.

We did not fear, as some did, any evil consequences from this MORGAN joint resolution, even if it had passed. It is true that a large number of the Democrats, beginning with Mr. RANDALL, acted as though they expected some great gain to the party from the passage. But we do not believe that they really entertained any such expectations. They saw that their urgency annoyed and half alarmed some Republicans, and that gave them a motive. They embraced four years ago the view of Congressional power which the resolution embodies, and they meant to put it on record and to give it the force of a precedent for future use. Even if the next Congress should repeal it, yet it would have been enunciated as the deliberate judgment of this. There was no opening for any such use of the rule as would prevent Mr. GARFIELD's election being declared, and, if there had been, the South would not have given their consent to the party's taking any advantage of it. As one Southern member remarked, that section of the country has had enough civil war to last it for several generations.

Instead of the MORGAN Rule, they agreed to have the votes counted, after the Vice-President has opened them, by tellers representing the House and the Senate, and the result declared by the Vice-President, as presiding officer of the joint convention of the two bodies. To this procedure the Republicans will make less objection than to the MORGAN Rule, as it leaves in abeyance the question of the right of a single branch of Congress to contest and throw out the vote of any State. But, if Vice-President Wheeler holds, as do many interpreters of the Constitution, that it is his right and duty to count the votes, there is still room for a collision, which nothing but a decision of the Supreme Court can settle. For it seems that the plan contemplates the appointment of the tellers,

not merely from, but by, the House and the Senate, so that they would not be, in any sense, the deputies of the Vice-President.

MR. BECK's resolution in favor of the opening of American registry to vessels of foreign build, was useful, as it enabled Mr. BLAINE to restate with vigor the reasons which should move us to persist in the policy adopted under General WASHINGTON's presidency, and never altered or modified by any party since that date. It may be said that this statement of the history of the law is a mere appeal to sentiment. But there is nothing but sentiment for its repeal, as Americans are now as free to invest their capital in foreign ships, provided they sail them under the foreign flag, as they would be to purchase them after we gave them leave to hoist the American flag. Mr. BLAINE did more than repeat the usual arguments for subsidies rather than "free ships." He exposed some current mis-statements as to the present status of the subsidy system in Europe. Thus we have been told recently that it is employed by England only to keep up steam navigation between her colonies, and that as fast as subsidies expire they are dropped without renewal. Mr. BLAINE opposed to this statement the recent increase of half a million of dollars in the subsidy granted to the Oriental Company, when the competition of French lines threatened its prosperity.

Equally worthy of note was his account of the British line from Rio Janeiro to New York. It starts from Liverpool to carry British manufactures to Rio, then returns from Rio to New York with coffee, and sails from New York for Liverpool with wheat. In this way it gives the Brazilians access to our markets, but does its best to secure to British manufacturers only, access to theirs. It was not started until a purely American line began to run with the help of a Brazilian subsidy.

MR. SCHURZ is making bad worse in the matter of the Poncas. It was but natural that he should feel humiliated by the report of the President's Commission, and that he should seek in some way to weaken the force of the blow. That report, including Mr. ALLEN's statement of the reasons for it, does not merely scatter to the winds all the fine tales we were told about the consent of the Poncas to remain in the Indian Territory. It exposes the methods by which that consent was obtained, showing that the Indians were influenced by the hope raised of a special money advantage to accrue only to those who did as Mr. SCHURZ wished. It also exploded the amiable fiction that the Sioux would eat up all the Poncas who went back to Dakotah, and that the Interior Department was taking the only steps which could prevent an Indian war, or rather a massacre. It shows that the returned Poncas are on the best of terms with the Sioux, and that the latter fully recognized the justice of the decision made by the United States Court at Omaha,—that those lands belong to the Poncas, and that they alone are capable of ceding them to any other possessor.

In view of these facts, the public are justified in suspecting that the Secretary of the Interior has not been acting with perfect candor in this whole matter. Can all this, that we now know be true, have been unknown to Mr. SCHURZ when he wrote that pathetic letter to Gov. LONG? Could he have given the public a full statement of what the President's Commission telegraphed to Washington, when he told the country that the result of their inquiry confirmed his policy? Nor has Mr. SCHURZ strengthened the desire of his friends

to believe the best about him, by his conduct since the full report came to hand. Mr. ALLEN, one of the four commissioners, charges him with having given to the newspapers a report of what he (Mr. ALLEN) had said to the Senate Committee, which is "grossly inaccurate, unfair and misleading," and intended "to prejudice public opinion in advance of official reports." The report in question certainly stands in the most glaring contradiction to what Mr. ALLEN had said in the Report of the Commission and his own supplement to it. We are not surprised that he did not care to be represented to the country as an idiot, whatever cost to official reputations might be involved in his denial.

MR. HAYES, in nominating Mr. FORSTER for the District Attorneyship of Southern New York, in place of Mr. WOODFORD, whose term of service has expired, makes just the blunder which we hope to see Mr. GARFIELD avoid. He goes out of his way to get rid of an official, who is admitted to be both faithful and efficient, because that official belongs to a faction of the party which is not in sympathy with Mr. HAYES and his friends. It is true that the "Stalwarts" have no particular right to complain of this petty policy. It was they who inaugurated it under Mr. GRANT's presidency. It was one of the worst parts of the system of abuses called Grantism. Mr. HAYES only metes to them the measure they meted to others. But it is just this adoption of the methods of the machine by the opponents of the machine that we deplore as unwise and reprobate as unprincipled. That General WOODFORD is one of Mr. CONKLING's following, is no reason for his appointment, certainly. But it is just as little reason for a refusal to renew his commission after years of faithful service. If Civil Service Reform means anything, it means the retention of such men. It is bad enough to have the appointments confined to a single party, without having them narrowed down to the particular segment of the party with which the President feels most at home. If Mr. CONKLING can prevent action on the nomination until the 4th of March, we trust and believe that Mr. GARFIELD will withdraw the name of Mr. FORSTER and substitute that of Mr. WOODFORD. It is true that the act would be misconstrued as meaning that he had made special terms with Mr. CONKLING; but he should take the risk of misconstruction.

ATTENTION is called to the fact that of sixty officers sentenced by court-martial to expulsion from the regular army, for drunkenness or offences equally grave, forty-one have either been pardoned by Mr. HAYES, or have had their sentences so commuted as to allow of their continuance in our military service. This, it is said with truth, is not creditable to the Commander-in-Chief, as it shows that he has been governed by other considerations in his exercise of the pardoning power, than a regard for the efficiency of the service. The truth is that this is a blunder to which civil magistrates are extremely prone, when entrusted with the supreme control of military discipline. They are apt to look upon such cases as exactly similar to offences against the ordinary law of the land, and to forget that they are known and canvassed by every one of the limited body for whose control such punishment exists. The ordinary criminal, when pardoned, slips away and is lost in the crowd. But the army officer who is relieved of the penalty imposed by his brother officers in court-martial, stands out against the sky as a signal instance of the inefficiency of the army's discipline. And when it is remembered that the drunkenness of such an officer in the hour of danger might lead to the destruction of his whole command, it is seen that such clemency is the selfish indulgence of kindly impulses which may prove in its results grossly cruel to the rank and file of the service.

But the number of such cases among the officers of the army is worthy of notice. Is there another body of educated men in America, of which so large a proportion would have been con-

victed of this immorality? Sixty since November 1877, from the officers of our tiny army, is certainly a large allowance. It suggests questions as to the moral and social tone of the service, and the moral influence of the educational institution which is the chief power in giving character to the service. How many of these men learned to drink in the places near the Point, which were so often mentioned in the Whittaker trial?

WE are glad to see that the position and future of the Agricultural College in Centre County are coming up for discussion once more. This institution was created out of the grant of land made to this and other States, "for the encouragement of agriculture and the mechanic arts." It has an income of \$30,000 a year from the State, with a scanty attendance of pupils, and a large faculty. Although it is open to students from all parts of the country, from Maine to Texas, it has at this moment but forty-five students and eleven professors. Its failure has not been due to its situation, for it occupies a beautiful site in Centre County, well-adapted for a model farm. Neither has it been owing to a want of energy in its managers, for it has had several excellent principals, and one of its former chemists was a man of recognized ability. Neither has it failed for want of external impulse and help, for a considerable number of the citizens of that part of the State have given it their time and attention, and have made additions to its endowment, with the hope of infusing into it a more vigorous life. But all this has been of no permanent benefit, simply because there is no demand for such an institution,—no room for it in our system of agriculture. The farming class cannot be induced to send their sons to it. Those of them who wish to make their farmers, keep them on the farm; those who are ambitious of a more liberal education for them, send them to the colleges and universities. It is true, that as our State and our country are more closely settled, the need of scientific training for the farmer will be felt, and there will be room for such agricultural colleges as have been found beneficial in Europe. But for the present, we are wasting every year \$30,000, which might be laid out, in other ways, in advancing just the class of interests the grant was meant to benefit, and which might again be diverted to an agricultural college when the time comes for such an institution. New Jersey felt this, and gave the proceeds of her grant to the scientific department of Rutgers College. A similar disposal of this fund for the chief technological school of the State, would lay the foundation for a scientific agriculture by aiding in the education of chemists, geologists and civil engineers. The income of the grant, if given to the University of Pennsylvania, would enable her to throw open her scientific school for the free education of the young men of our city and our State in branches of practical science, in which they would be especially useful to the agricultural classes, and, besides this, to maintain a model farm and agricultural stations for the direct promotion of agriculture.

THE election of Judge JACKSON, by the Tennessee Legislature, gives the Democrats an assured majority in the United States Senate, for two years at least. Some Republican newspapers try to cipher out a tie by counting Messrs. DAVIS, BROWN and MAHONE as Independents. But Mr. BROWN is as decidedly a Democrat as any man in the whole body, and Mr. DAVIS has acted with the Democrats on nearly all party questions for years past. It is true that a knot of stalwart Republicans have been trying to help Mr. MAHONE into the Republican party, but without much success, so far as the party is concerned. No amount of whitewash will make Mr. MAHONE anything but a repudiator who has stood between Virginia and her financial honor. And for repudiators, North or South, the Republican party has no room. We are sure that Mr. BROWN is a Democrat; we fear that Mr. DAVIS must be counted one, although, of late, he has been friendly to the Republicans. We

hope that Mr. MAHONE has no intention of calling himself anything else than a Democrat.

THE situation in Pennsylvania continues unchanged as regards the Senatorship, and with no probability of a choice at an early date. It is even thought not improbable that there may be no choice by the Legislature, and that Mr. OLIVER will be appointed by Governor HOYT after adjournment, to serve until the next Legislature meets again in January, 1882. This, of itself, would be a victory for the anti-CAMERON element. The position of both Mr. CAMERON and Mr. OLIVER in the Senate would be greatly changed by their joint failure to control the State Legislature. And the election of a Senator would be remanded to the people in the choice of a new Legislature. This would carry the matter to just the tribunal where the opponents of the CAMERONS wish to have it tested. They believe that the CAMERON influence, while mighty in caucus, counts for little or nothing at the polls; and that this would be shown as soon as it came to the direct issue of a popular vote. Pennsylvania may have to submit to two years more of misrepresentation from Mr. CAMERON and his Cameronians; but the succeeding four years, at least, will see in the Senate a man worthy of the Commonwealth.

Of course, our Legislature receives a good deal of gratuitous advice from people and newspapers outside her boundaries. They are greatly concerned at the general neglect of public business, while this contest is pending, and grieved at the unhappy display of differences inside the Republican party. We observe that most of this comes from the State whose Legislature recently elected, at the bidding of Mr. CONKLING, a Senator whose opinions on every topic, except Mr. CONKLING, are unknown to even the best informed newspapers. We wish it to be noted that Pennsylvania has not reached this point in politics. It is true that the CAMERONS have not Mr. CONKLING's ability as a manager, while their personal character, apart from their political sins, is not on a level with his. But even if they had been his peers, they would have made the discovery that there are Republicans in this State who own their own souls, and who consider that so good an investment that they do not mean to be found "short."

As to the danger to the party from the present conflict, the truth is that there would have been much greater danger from Mr. OLIVER's success. When a party becomes as strong as are the Republicans in Pennsylvania, and falls into the hands of those who lead as unscrupulously as do the CAMERONS, the time for a division is not far off. Mr. OLIVER's election would have been the final assurance that the worse elements of the party were to rule it, and would have been the signal for an exodus of multitudes, who could no longer remain the accomplices of such men as Mr. QUAY and Mr. KEMBLE. For Mr. CAMERON's name is far from being the worst that would have been flaunted in the faces of all honest men by this machine triumph. There are deeper depths in Republican politics than the CAMERON influence, and these depths were never more deeply stirred than in the canvass to elect Mr. OLIVER.

The Times of New York exhorts Republicans to cast off both the CAMERON influence and the anti-CAMERON influence, and elect some Republican who will do the State credit. The anti-CAMERON influence may be analyzed into two portions. One is the ten commandments; the other is the instructions received by our legislators from their constituents. We presume our contemporary would regret to see them turn their backs upon either. *The Times* is wilfully blind to the facts of the case, if it assume that the so-called "GROW men" are fighting simply to secure Mr. GROW's election. They showed the contrary when they offered to support any one of half a dozen Republicans who would do credit to the State, gentlemen whom *The Times* permitted its Harrisburg correspondent to libel in its columns. They are equally ready to take up any other

unobjectionable Republican whom the OLIVER men may select. But they will not vote for a man whose election would be the triumph of all the criminals whom CHARLES WOLFE, a year ago, dragged to light and punishment. They will not vote for a man whose election would be the State's condonation of the crimes committed by Mr. W. H. KEMBLE and by those who pardoned him or procured his pardon.

It seems probable that another Polar expedition has come to grief. The *Jeannette* was last seen, in the beginning of last winter, steaming toward Wrangell's Land, and nothing has been heard of her since. Congress is asked to send a ship after her to find what has become of her crew. We do not object to the appropriation, provided it enact at the same time a law making all such expeditions criminal for the future. If there were any doubt on the matter before, it is now well ascertained that there is nothing in that neighborhood worth finding, and that such voyages are a useless risk of human life and a useless expenditure of human energy. So long as it was a question of finding a North-west passage, there was some excuse for our risking the lives of FRANKLIN and PARRY. But when Captain MCCLURE, with the proverbial obstinacy of an Ulster man, forced his way through the ice-floats to Behring's Straits, it was seen that that game was not worth the candle. Then came the bold romance of an open Polar Sea, and a higher temperature as you got toward the Pole. That fiction is exploded, and nothing is now left except the general talk about "scientific observations" and great discoveries. There was just as much sense in the noddle of the fool who broke his neck in leaping down the waterfall to show that "some things could be done as well as others," as there is in these expeditions to hunt up the North Pole.

A NEW JERSEY grand jury recommends the re-establishment of the whipping post for the punishment of wife-beaters; and a bill to that effect has been introduced in the Legislature of New York. On the principle of exact and even retribution, which underlies all wise punishment, there might seem to be some fairness in this proposal. But there is a serious objection from the publicity of such a punishment. The man who has been whipped, either in public, or by public officials with the knowledge of the public, has undergone a personal humiliation far greater than any woman can receive through blows from her husband's hand. He is disgraced to an extent that must wipe out of him the lingering traces of manhood, and bring him down to a level with the brutes. We should be glad to see some punishment for wife-beaters which would involve an amount of suffering equal to that which they have inflicted. But as the wife-beater is not divorced by his flogging, the women would suffer even more than their husbands through the revival of the whipping-post.

Then again, there are wife-beaters and wife-beaters. The man who boxes his wife's ears under the provocation of a sharp tongue, is not on a moral or criminal level with the brute who knocks his wife down and kicks her. But both are in the eye of the law wife-beaters, and the former might find himself as badly entangled as the latter in the meshes of the new law.

THE news from South America shows that Peru has finally collapsed in its resistance to Chili. The capital and the chief emporium—Lima and Callao—are both in the hands of the enemy, and so far as is known, there is no centre left from which any concerted resistance can be offered to the Chilians. Thus ends another of the struggles begun at the instance of Great Britain, and for trade purposes. The guano beds, claimed by Chili as the rightful property of her own subjects, were merely nominally such. British capital had been sunk in them, and British influence encouraged the Chilian Government to undertake the war. The Peruvians misbehaved throughout. They refused even to discuss the terms of peace secured them by American intervention. They

are now in such a plight that they must be glad of such an offer, or may forfeit their independence as the penalty of their hopeless resistance.

WHERE is Geok-Tepe? Somewhere in the deserts to the north of Merv, say the newspapers. The official map of Turkestan, published at Dehra in 1868, from Russian and English surveys, has no such place marked. Mr. SCHUYLER's maps are quite destitute of it. JOHNSTONE's atlases are equally in the dark. Is it a chief town of Nephelo-coccygia? Is it the capital of PRESTER JOHN's land? Are those interesting despatches about its capture from the Tekke Turkomans an amiable romance from the brain of Gen. KAUFMANN? Some details sound like that; but we suspend our judgment. We would not like to be too severe on KAUFMANN.

AN English garrison, with cannon in its possession, is besieged or rather blockaded in the Transvaal. Artillery is the special arm in which the Boers are weakest, and if those English troops surrender, the means of resistance will be multiplied. Sir GEORGE COLLEY marched to their relief with all the troops he could raise in Natal. The Boers of that colony refused to serve. The Boers of the Transvaal made an admirable selection of the point for resistance. The Transvaal is an elevated plateau, approached from the south only by two ravines, one of which leads up from the Orange Free State. As the Boers of that Republic, unlike their President, are heartily in sympathy with the Transvaalers, the British had no choice but to take the other. The Boers let them climb it almost to the very summit, and then charged the tired troops. The artillery being on lower ground than the Boers, could not be used with much effect. The British troops fought well, as they usually do under a commander they trust, but they were driven down the pass with considerable loss. Sir GEORGE fell back to wait for reinforcements from India, admitting that his force was insufficient. If that garrison should be starved out before they come, it may require a very considerable force to make its way up the Drackenberg Pass. The English say that the fort in danger is full of provisions; but that may be no more than saying what you wish to believe.

ABOUT coercion, the English ministry have made up their minds. About the Irish Land bill, they are all at sea. Mr. GLADSTONE's vague phrases about the amending of the law of 1870 were but a cover for their indecision. And the Irish members are exhorted to accept the law which places the personal liberty of every Irishman at the mercy of Government officials for two years to come, because this severity is to be atoned for by a bill "that shape has none, distinguishable in member, joint or limb." And American newspapers berate the Irish members for refusing to be content.

Even Mr. BRIGHT is offended at the Irish and ready for coercion. It is true that the methods of the Land League are not always of a sort to harmonize with Quaker ideas. But the statistics of the last thirty years show that, while Ireland is more aroused and excited than at any time for forty years past, there are fewer agrarian crimes committed than in years of far less excitement. A whole nation cannot be stirred to do battle for its rights, without leading to acts of violence on the part of the more malevolent or more mercurial elements of society. Every agitator must take the risk of that; just as every nation knows that the organization of an army will be accompanied by certain acts of vice. But the Land League have steadily discouraged such acts. To make them needless, even in the view of the hotheads, they sketched out a simple but effective mode of punishing the enemies of the people's aims. But this preventive the English Government are now suppressing by prosecution. Not only are they breaking up the Land League's courts, but they are prosecuting shop-keepers for refusing to have dealings with "land-grabbers." Nobody in Ireland may "do what he will with his own," except the evicting landlords.

Fifteen years ago, Mr. BRIGHT told the people of Dublin that if their 105 members of Parliament were real representatives of the popular will and were united in their demands, they would be irresistible. But at present nearly every Irish member unites in demanding a vigorous Land bill, the Northern Liberals putting their demand at Tenant Right and the three F's, Mr. SHAW and his moderates going a little farther still, and Mr. PARNELL asking for the expropriation of the landlords. And in face of the united demand for vigor, the Cabinet are divided over the mildest request of the three, the House of Lords having far more to do with the shape of the bill than the whole Irish representation.

It is notable that there is a growing feeling in England, which favors the separation of the two countries. Even Mr. FROUDE, in his reprint of the wretched party pamphlet he put forth as a history of *The English in Ireland*, after proposing as the best plan military rule for fifty years in the three southern provinces, admits that this is impossible, and adds: "Then let Ireland be free. . . . This, too, is called impossible—yet, if we will neither rule Ireland, nor allow the Irish to rule themselves, nature and fact may tell us that, whether we will or no, an experiment which has lasted 700 years shall be tried no longer. Between the two 'impossibilities,' we may be obliged to choose, if Ireland is to cease to be our reproach." Mr. AUDUBON HERBERT, M. P., the pronounced Radical, has declared against the policy of governing Ireland by "concessions." "The true and only method," he says, "is to give rights and not favors. You must let her govern herself, even if self-government leads to independence. We are only dreaming dreams in a paradise of folly, if we think that any cobbling which Mr. GLADSTONE or Mr. FORSTER can do, is going to prevent this final issue." Sir WILFRED LAWSON, M. P., told his Scotch constituency—"We have tried to rule Ireland for 600 years and have totally failed. We have a rebellion there every eight or ten years, and two armies to keep up—one a military force and the other a constabulary—to keep those people in subjection. It is a heart-rending state of things, and it cannot much longer go on. If we cannot pacify those people, we cannot go on insisting on holding an unwilling nation under our control; and if it should come to a question of separation or subjugation, then, far rather than see my fellow-subjects in Ireland crushed down by military force, I, for one, would heartily go for separation of the country from England." To this state of feeling the Home Rulers are contributing by their policy of obstruction. They are making the English Parliament heartily sick of their presence in it, which is a result thoroughly satisfactory to themselves and to their constituents. When Parliament has to remain in continuous session for two nights and three days, to carry a vote over their opposition, all Celtic Ireland is delighted.

THE English papers call attention to a case recently decided, which illustrates the serious risks taken by English women who marry French husbands. The legal capacity of the husband to marry is determined by the law of the husband's domicile, *i. e.*, by the law of France. In a case, for instance, where French law requires the consent of relatives, the ceremony may be performed in England in exact conformity with the requirements of English law, and that law may find for itself no defects in the jural capacity of the parties. And yet, if the consent required by French law has not been secured, the marriage is invalid, even in English law. This decision is based upon a well-established rule of international law, and need have surprised nobody. But it is worth while to call attention to the fact that it applies equally to the legal status of people who have been married in the different States of the American Union. We were told once by an aged clergyman in New Hampshire, that he had been invited to marry two young persons in that State, but, on coming to the house, he found they had slipped off to Vermont, and came back a few hours afterwards, already

married. They were first cousins, and they found that the law of New Hampshire—like the laws of several other States—forbid such to marry. So they had been married in Vermont, and came back to live in New Hampshire. Their marriage was of course invalid in the view of both Vermont and New Hampshire law, but not even our informant was aware of the fact. The moral of the situation is that we need a general marriage law for the whole country, which shall define the capacity of the parties to a marriage contract, the minimum of ceremonial, and the persons who shall have power to officiate. That this latter point needs definition, is evident from the contrast in the laws of two neighboring States,—Ohio and Pennsylvania. In the latter, any person is competent to officiate; in the former, only magistrates and ministers of the Gospel, and the latter only after entering the certificate of their ordination with the clerk of the court of the county in which the ceremony is performed; and a Pennsylvania clergyman who had but recently settled in Ohio, might get both himself and other people into serious trouble through not knowing the ways of the State.

THE Democrats of Philadelphia have divided on the question of the advisability of coöperating with the Independent Republicans. It is self-evident to every candid observer that the Democrats by themselves have no chance of carrying the city. They have not elected a city official since before the war, except when some particular situation of our politics has forced a large body of Republicans to the support of their candidate. Such names as Mr. FOX, Mr. SHEPPARD and Mr. PATTISON are but so many illustrations of the way in which a Democrat can be elected in Philadelphia. And yet, Bourbons like Mr. RICHARD VAUX are so full of the memories of the good old times, and so hopeful of their return, that they resent the proposal to give the support of the party to Mr. HUNTER's candidacy, as an insult to the party—as an implication that there is no Democrat in Philadelphia capable and honest enough to be Receiver of Taxes. Mr. VAUX was, no doubt, quite honest in taking this position, but he unconsciously was making himself the spokesman of many men who are not honest in pursuing this policy. We have plenty of Ring Democrats in Philadelphia, just as New York had plenty of Ring Republicans in Mr. TWEED's time. The cue of the Ring Republicans was to insist always on the nomination of a straight Republican ticket, and to resist any attempt at coöperation with the better class of Democrats, for the reform of city politics. And the same set are ready to do the same work here. We have wards of Philadelphia in which, in some elections, every representative of the Democrats at the polls has been in the pay of the Republican Ring. We have had Ward Democratic Conventions, held under the auspices of that Ring, and largely composed of its agents, which put a straight Democratic ticket in the field, against the protests of all the intelligent Democrats of the ward. This element of the party has been busy for months past in hallooing for a straight ticket, and Mr. VAUX puts himself forward to do its work, and give it a color of respectability.

SOME of the German citizens of Philadelphia have begun an agitation against our Liquor and Sunday Laws. We should have thought that our city government gave them but little provocation or excuse for such a movement. We have, indeed, some laws on the statute book on this subject, but the extent of their enforcement is so limited that they are nearly as good as dead letters. It is true that now and then, just before a doubtful city election, Mayor STOKLEY, makes a little fuss and insists that the breakers of the law shall not do it too openly. But this civic virtue is like the morning dew, that vanishes in an hour, and all things go on again at the pleasure of our whiskey-sellers. We advise the opponents of such laws not to make any fuss over them. It would be the worst of policy to call general attention to them, for then the majority

which procured their enactment might begin to insist on their enforcement. It is bad policy for them to embarrass their friends, the politicians, by such agitations, since these latter are doing the best they can, or dare, for the freedom of the liquor trade.

OUR record of events at home and a broad closes with the week ending February 3d:—

The bill for the establishment of an assay office at St. Louis was signed by the President on the 1st.

On and after the 7th, the State Department will be ready to distribute the first instalment of the awards made by the Mexican Claims Commission.

It has been suggested in New York that the Knickerbocker families and descendants of old Dutch families unite in a protest against the British operations in the Transvaal.

The Legislature of Kansas has passed a joint resolution for the placing of a statue of JOHN BROWN in the National Art Gallery at Washington.

The public debt statement for January shows a decrease of \$7,382,167. Since June 30, 1880, the debt has been decreased \$50,372,727.

News has been received at San Francisco of the death of King MILAETO, of the Samoan Islands, on November 8th. The country is in a state of anarchy, except the neutral portion governed by the Consuls of the United States, Germany, and Great Britain.

Articles of incorporation of the Central and South American Telegraph Company were filed on the 1st, in Albany. The capital is \$5,000,000. The lines are to run from New York to Texas, thence through Mexico to South America.

The annual report of the Board of Health of Chicago shows that there were 10,462 deaths in that city during 1880, out of a population of 503,298. This shows a death rate of 20.79 per 1000.

At a meeting of colored Republicans and members of the Republican State Committee, in Augusta, Georgia, on the 29th, an address was adopted recommending Senator BRUCE for a position in President GARFIELD's Cabinet.

There were coined at the Mints during January, \$6,336,053 pieces, valued at \$9,592,230, of which \$1,106,053 were in gold eagles and half eagles. The number of silver dollars struck was 2,300,000, and of cents, 2,930,000.

KING KALAKAUA, of the Sandwich Islands, arrived in San Francisco on the 29th. The object of his visit to Asiatic and European countries is to secure a desirable class of immigrants to the Sandwich Islands, to take the place of the natives, who seem doomed to extinction at an early day.

The body of Colonel CHARLES POTTER, a son-in-law of Governor VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island, was discovered near Santa Fe, New Mexico, on the 30th. Three men suspected of having murdered him, are in jail at Albuquerque, and one of them "has confessed that POTTER was killed by robbers on October 15th."

The second trial of THOMAS BUFORD, for the murder of Judge ELLIOTT, of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, who decided a case against him two years ago, was finished at Overton on the 29th. The jury, late at night, returned a verdict of not guilty, on the ground of insanity.

At a meeting of the Spinners' Association in Fall River, Massachusetts, on the 29th, unfavorable reports were received regarding the request of the spinners for a restoration of the ten per cent. reduction in October. It was resolved to appoint committees to consider the advisability of a partial or general strike, and to arrange means for sustenance, should a strike be decided upon.

The Women's National Anti-Polygamy Society met in Salt Lake City on the 1st, and adopted a resolution approving the action of Governor MURRAY in giving the certificate of election as Delegate to Congress to CAMPBELL, on the ground that his opponent, though having the most votes, is an alien and a polygamist. The resolution also urges Congress to sustain the Governor in this matter, and to enact a measure for the suppression of polygamy.

The Roman Catholic clergy of the Archdiocese of Boston recently held a meeting in the Archbishop's residence, to consider the land agitation in Ireland, and the position which it might be advisable for the clergy to assume in relation thereto. A committee was appointed, which has prepared an address expressing the views of the meeting, and signed by JOHN J. WILLIAMS, Archbishop of Boston, WILLIAM BYRNE, Vicar-General, and the clergy of the various churches. It is directed to the clergy and people of Ireland, and "promises sympathy and co-operation to all those who

are laboring in such a just and righteous cause, as long as they are guided by these principles. It denounces as pernicious and infamous the conduct of certain supposed emissaries of secret societies, who seek to infuse into this movement a spirit of injustice and a disregard for the laws of morality, as expounded by the Catholic Church, and declares in favor of peace and civic order." The address, it is stated, will be immediately followed by a contribution from the signers to the funds of the Irish Land League.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* says that THOMAS CARLYLE is believed to be slowly sinking.

Lady FLORENCE DIXIE, distinguished in the hunting field as a fearless and accomplished horsewoman, is going out to the Transvaal as a war correspondent for the *London Morning Post*.

The King of the Netherlands will shortly be asked to direct his Government to make diplomatic representations to Great Britain with the object of granting the independence of the Boers.

All the Turkish Government departments have been ordered not to make any payments whatever, even for salaries, until the end of March, the whole revenue being absorbed in military preparations.

The *Standard's* correspondent at Paris reports that a plot in favor of the Karageorgevitch family, to dethrone Prince MILAN of Serbia, has been discovered, and numerous arrests have been made. M. RISTICS, a former Minister, is reported to be implicated in the plot.

The English committee of the International Literary Association, Mr. WILLIAM BLANCHARD JERROLD, the journalist, presiding, have passed a resolution to summon a conference of English authors and publishers to consider the draft of the proposal for an international copyright treaty which the United States Government forwarded to the British Government, together with amendments to the draft suggested by the Board of Trade.

A prospectus has been issued in Paris of the Central American Submarine Telegraph Company, the object of which is to connect Central America with the United States and Europe by cable—with tributary land lines—to be laid from Belize to Cuba. Spain has granted a concession therefor, and England will guarantee \$5,000 annually for twenty years as the proceeds of Government telegrams to and from British Honduras. The capital of the company is to be \$600,000.

Late mail advices from New South Wales, received in San Francisco, report that a bill authorizing the construction of 471 miles of railroad, has passed the Colonial Parliament. The harvest prospects in New South Wales and South Australia were favorable, the wheat crop especially being large, and there was increased business activity at Sydney. The corvette *Emerald* had sailed for the Solomon Islands to punish the natives for recent attacks on British subjects. Favorable accounts had been received from the New Ireland settlement, where thirty additional colonists had arrived.

COUNT DE LESSEPS read a report on the 1st inst., at the first constitutive meeting of the Panama Canal Company, at Paris, in which he stated that the subscriptions resulted in applications for 1,209,609 shares, of which France subscribed for 994,508 shares. Seventy engineers, superintendents and doctors have been sent to the Isthmus. Steam engines have been ordered which will permit of the employment of a number of day laborers, not to exceed 8,000. The entire capital required amounts to 600,000,000 francs, only 300,000,000 francs of which have been called up, the remainder to be covered by the issue of obligations.

SENATE SECRETS.

THE Senate of the United States is a body which is supposed to have secrets to keep. Of late years, and especially since the newspapers of the country have maintained at the National Capital a corps of alert and inquisitive correspondents, the Senate has not been able to keep its secrets when it was of any interest for the public to know them. This inability has caused the Senate in its organized capacity to be very indignant on several occasions, and to take what it thought were vigorous measures to find out what was the matter with itself. The Senate has never been able to discover the causes of its weakness in respect of its secrets, and has nothing left to do but lament the weakness of Senatorial human nature, or the bad structure of a chamber which double doors do not guard so strictly that what goes on inside can be kept from

the knowledge of mankind outside. Whenever a Senator has occasion to speak of this defect of the Senate, from his place in that body, he always does so with august dignity and solemn sorrow. Whenever he has occasion to speak of it outside the Senate chamber, he does it with winking of the eyes and with his Senatorial tongue rolled into his Senatorial cheek, if he does not laugh outright.

It is not a difficult matter to find out what is done inside the closed doors, whether the subject under consideration be the nomination of a postmaster or the ratification of a treaty. Senators vainly pretend to keep the matter to themselves. Those who are pleased with what is done, or have achieved a triumph, want the fact and the circumstances of it known for their glory. Those who are defeated, and who imagine that an outrage has therefore been committed against the public interest, want the public to have an opportunity to be indignant. There was a time when a newspaper correspondent thought he had accomplished something more than his rivals if he obtained a particular knowledge of executive session business; but that was long ago. The ambition of enterprising correspondents now aspires to more difficult things, and leaves to the Associated Press agents the reporting of executive sessions, together with other routine and humdrum work. And only when there is something really worth an effort, some superior and particularly sly game in the cover, do the special correspondents make an effort to bag it.

Why should the Senate have any secrets? There is nothing in the Constitution of the United States requiring it to do any of its business in secret. To be sure, it is provided that "each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy." This would seem to indicate that it was contemplated by the framers of our organization of government that both Houses of Congress would do their business in private, and that the publication of their journals would give the public all the information the public had a right to ask for. The nation has outgrown that idea of exclusiveness, and now galleries, capable of seating two or three thousand people, surround each chamber. But the Senate, which has to give advice and consent to the President in the appointment of officers and the ratification of treaties, is affected with a notion that it is more becoming to do this work in seclusion from the public view and hearing. Hence, the executive sessions, so-called. They are contrary to the genius of republican institutions, contrary to the temper of the time, and contrary to public interest.

Why is it necessary to discuss in secret the terms of a treaty? The conclusion reached will be no wiser,—not so wise, on account of the secrecy. Nobody supposes the final action of the Senate on the Treaty of Washington was different from what it would have been if the treaty had not been published, or than it would have been if the consideration of it had been in open session. Why is it necessary to discuss the qualifications of a man nominated to office, in secret session? No better nominations are made. No fewer poor nominations are confirmed than would be if the advice and consent were given publicly, and the reasons on which advice and consent are based were publicly stated. In fact, they are publicly known in every case of sufficient importance to receive public attention, and what harm comes of it? The executive session is a relic of an age when people had no common schools and no newspapers. It is antiquated now, and ought to be done away with. The Senate would gain more dignity than it would lose, if its executive sessions were abolished, and all its work done in the light of day and in the presence of the people. It is time for a move in that direction. There is no other way for the Senate to escape becoming ridiculous, for already Senate secrets are open secrets. Senators and people are glad that it is so. Let the Senate reform its rules in this respect.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON, February 2d, 1881.

THE Senate has spent much time during the past week in debate on the bill for giving land to Indians in severalty. The case of the Ponca Indians has also been before the Senate in one form or another, two or three times. The President has sent to Congress a message favoring the recommendations of the Ponca Commission sent out by him. The House has disposed of some of the contested election cases, and passed the District of Columbia Appropriation bill. The effort to pass the Electoral count resolution, that was so persistently supported before the recess, has been abandoned, and a new resolution, avoiding all points of difference, rather than settling them, has been introduced in the Senate. The apportionment of representation under the last census, is now under consideration in the House.

SENATE.

Thursday, January 27.—Mr. DAWES of Massachusetts presented a petition, headed by Hon. JOHN WELSH, containing the signatures of more than 32,000 different persons, asking the Government to keep its treaties with the Indian tribes in good faith. Joint resolutions authorizing the printing of thirty thousand copies of the report of the Entomological Commission on the Cottonwood Boll worms, and six thousand copies of the report of the National Board of Health were passed. Mr. BECK of Kentucky called up a resolution offered by him, providing for the repeal of all laws prohibiting the purchase and registration of ships, for the foreign carrying trade, by American citizens, and made a long speech in support of the doctrine of "free ships," as set forth in the resolution. Mr. BLAINE of Maine followed Mr. BECK, in opposition to the principles that had been advocated by that gentleman. The Naval Appropriation bill was then taken up and passed, with some slight amendments. The deficiency bill relating to the interest of District of Columbia 3.65 bonds was passed. A bill for the sale of a part of the military reservation of Fort Leavenworth was passed; also the bill authorizing the construction of a railway bridge over the Niagara river; also the bill granting land for a hotel at Fortress Monroe; also the bill establishing an assay office at St. Louis.

Friday.—The Select Committee on the subject of pleuro-pneumonia and other contagious diseases of cattle, reported with amendments the bill to establish a bureau having charge of that and other related matters. Mr. DAWES of Massachusetts introduced a bill to establish the rights of the Ponca tribe of Indians and to settle their affairs. It embodies the recommendations of the President's Ponca Commission. Mr. BLAINE of Maine introduced a bill for the establishment of lines of United States Mail service and the revival of American commerce. The bill to confirm to the city of Chicago its title to certain public grounds was considered in the morning, but not disposed of. Consideration of the bill to grant lands in severalty to Indians was resumed, and it was discussed by Senators MORGAN of Alabama, COKE of Texas, PLUMB of Kansas and TELLER of Colorado. An amendment offered by Mr. PLUMB was rejected.

Saturday.—On motion of Mr. EDMUNDS of Vermont, the Judiciary Committee was instructed to inquire into the legality of Electoral votes cast on a day other than that fixed by law. The resolution offered by Mr. INGALLS of Kansas, on a previous day, providing for the opening and counting of the Electoral votes in the Senate Chamber, in the presence of the House of Representatives, was taken up. Mr. INGALLS supported his resolution, and Messrs. BAYARD of Delaware, MORGAN of Alabama and HILL of Georgia favored referring it to a committee. The vote on the question of a reference was—yeas, 29; nays, 18. Consideration of the Chicago Lake-Front bill was then resumed and the bill passed. The bill to give land in severalty to Indians was taken up and discussed. Mr. TELLER of Colorado gave notice that he had many amendments to offer to the bill, and it being evident that its opponents would not allow it to pass, except after a protracted debate, the Senate adjourned.

Monday.—Over a resolution authorizing the printing of a new edition of Professor HAYDEN's Atlas of Colorado, a debate upon the policy of printing public documents for general distribution arose, but the resolution was passed. Mr. MORRILL of Vermont offered a resolution tendering the thanks of Congress to the State of Vermont for the marble statue of JACOB COLLAMER, placed in the National Hall of Statuary. Both Vermont Senators eulogized Mr. COLLAMER. Mr. DAWES of Massachusetts made a speech, reciting the circumstances of the killing of BIG SNAKE, a Ponca Indian chief, by soldiers of the army serving under direction of an Indian agent, and he severely criticised the course of the Interior Department in the matter. Mr. LOGAN of Illinois, in reply, commended Secretary SCHURZ's administration of the Interior Department. The bill giving lands in severalty to Indians was taken up again, and debated until adjournment, but not disposed of.

Tuesday.—A resolution to print 20,000 additional copies of the Medical and Surgical History of the War was reported upon adversely. Mr. KIRKWOOD of Iowa addressed the Senate in reference to the killing

of BIG SNAKE, presenting his views of the circumstances, which differed from that of Mr. DAWES. Mr. LOGAN of Illinois made an ineffectual effort to have the bill placing General GRANT on the retired list of the army made the special order for Thursday. The Pension Appropriation bill was then taken up and considered, as in Committee of the Whole, until adjournment. During the discussion, there was much criticism, especially by Mr. Logan, of the management of the Pension Bureau. A message from the President, relating to the Ponca Indians, was received, but not read.

Wednesday.—The President's message, relating to the Ponca Indians, was read. It sustained, in the main, the findings of the Ponca Commission, and approved of their recommendations. With it were sent in the report of the Commission and accompanying documents. Resolutions reported from the Committee on the Electoral Count, by Mr. MORGAN of Alabama, were taken up and debated all day. At first, it seemed, from speeches by Mr. MORGAN and Mr. EDMUNDS of Vermont, that the resolutions would be adopted at once; but Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts vigorously attacked the proposed avoidance of the duty of counting the vote enjoined by the Constitution, and his remarks led to a long discussion, in which new and old theories were warmly advocated. The resolutions provide for the meeting of the two houses together, each having its own tellers, the opening of the votes and the declaration of the result, either including or excluding the vote of Georgia. The resolutions were accepted. The pension appropriation was further considered. The bill known as the Sixty Surgeons bill having been moved as an amendment, was severely attacked by Mr. VOORHEES of Indiana.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, January 27.—The contested election case of YEATES vs. MARTIN, from the First District of North Carolina, was taken up, on motion of Mr. SPEER of Georgia. In this case, the report of the majority of the Committee was in favor of the contestant. Several speeches were made on both sides, and the House adjourned, pending a demand for the previous question.

Friday.—Mr. COX of New York offered from the Committee of Foreign Affairs a resolution, which was adopted, calling on the Secretary of State for any information in his Department, not heretofore furnished, relative to the Halifax fisheries award, and also to report whether any steps had been taken by the Department to verify the recently published statement of Professor HENRY YOULE HIND. The House went into Committee of the Whole on the Private Calendar. The bill authorizing the re-appointment to the army and retirement of Lieutenant MARK WALKER, dismissed for drunkenness on duty by sentence of court-martial, then came up and was favorably considered. A long debate arose over a bill to pay Mrs. ELIZABETH P. PAGE, widow of HUGH N. PAGE, a Captain in the U. S. Navy, who resigned at the beginning of the war because his State (Virginia) had seceded, arrears of pay amounting to about \$136, due him when he resigned. The bill was vigorously opposed by Republicans, on the ground that it was contrary to the general statutes in such cases, and was put forward by Democrats only for the sake of making a legal precedent for the payment of hundreds of claims not so meritorious. The House adjourned without action.

Saturday.—The House, dispensing with the morning hour, took up the North Carolina election, which, after further debate, was disposed of. The resolution of the minority of the Committee in favor of MARTIN was defeated—yeas, 110; nays, 16. The resolution of the majority in favor of seating YEATES, the contestant, was adopted—yeas, 115; nays, 103.

Monday.—A large number of bills were introduced. A resolution was adopted calling on the Secretary of State for information concerning the disposition of foreign governments toward international action for the remonetization of silver. Mr. DE LA MATYR, of Indiana, presented the ladies' petition, with 32,000 signatures, in favor of keeping good faith with the Indians. The contested election case from the Eighth Iowa District was settled without debate, the contestant, J. C. HOLMES, being given leave to withdraw. JOHN J. WILSON, contestant, from the Ninth Iowa District, was also given leave to withdraw. Mr. STEPHENS of Georgia reported progress in the work of indexing the journals of Congress. The Senate bill, giving the Egyptian steamer Dessoug an American register, was passed. A bill appropriating \$26,000 for a marble and tile floor for the National Museum, was passed. The House went into Committee of the Whole, on the District of Columbia Appropriation bill, which was under consideration until adjournment.

Tuesday.—The whole session was spent in consideration of the District of Columbia Appropriation bill, in Committee of the Whole, nothing of general importance occurring.

Wednesday.—The District Appropriation bill was got out of Committee, and passed, with some amendment. The bill providing for an apportionment of representatives under the last census, was taken up, and Mr. COX, of New York, made a long speech on the subject.

THE SOUTH.

A SYMPOSIUM.

AFTER all, the great underlying source of misunderstanding and crimination and recrimination between the North and the South is that they do not know each other. Each has, indeed, certain conceptions as to the other, based upon common rumor, newspaper reports, or the tales brought by travellers. The Southerner comes North now and then to buy goods, or to spend a few weeks of the heated term at the spas, in the mountains, or on the sea-shore, and the Northerner, occasionally, but not so often, takes a hurried trip through the South, with as few stoppages as possible, to look after his trade interests, or, perhaps, in ill-health seeks the high lands of Georgia, or the orange groves of Florida, for a winter sanitarium. Then, too, they sometimes meet, or a few of them do, on neutral ground, as on the floor of Congress or of national conventions of one sort and another, exchange the compliments of the occasion, tip glasses in toast-drinking, and are off again, the one set towards the Pole and the other towards the Equator. We know, also, of the interchange of ideas through newspapers, books, and emigration. All of these things are well enough in their way, but they do not bring about the desired understanding. Almost as little now, as before the war between the States, do the men of the North and the men of the South see eye to eye, or touch elbows with united purpose.

It is the one object of the series of papers whose publication is begun in this issue of THE AMERICAN to bring about a different state of things, in the interest of national unity, and solely to that end. First of all, we propose that the Southern people shall have a fair hearing in their own words. This, they claim, they have never enjoyed. They urge that nobody in the North will sit down and consider their case, except in the exciting days of a Presidential campaign, when the people are in no mood for calm deliberation; that no Northern community is accessible to Southern newspapers, and that the Northern idea of Southern affairs is derived from garbled statements in a partisan press; that the whole Republican theory of the solution of the sectional question is, therefore, based upon a false conception of Southern public opinion. We say this complaint shall no longer be made, and we open the way for them to plead their cause through a journal which reaches all classes in every section of the country, but which finds its widest field in the North. In this spirit, an invitation was extended a few weeks ago to representative Southerners of every shade of political opinion, in every Southern State, to take the tribune afforded by these columns and plead their cause, explain their grievances, and make known their opinions and wishes in their own way, without stipulation as to substance or manner, or limitation of the period of debate. The invitation thus extended has been accepted in good faith, and the responses already received give assurance, not only of instruction, but of entertainment, and of entertainment of the most diversified kind. The first instalment is given to-day, and others will follow, without intermission, until the whole field is covered. In conclusion, we shall give a consensus of Southern opinion, as disclosed by THE AMERICAN'S inquiry, and, although comment will be made from time to time on the drift of the replies, with explanatory remarks as to the subjects discussed and the personnel and bias of the participants in the symposium, the judgment of this journal will be withheld until all of the evidence and the arguments thereon have been laid before the public.

To obtain this information, it was deemed expedient to indicate a common line of discussion, and the letter addressed to each Southerner, to which a reply was sent, was as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, January 1, 1881.

DEAR SIR:—There is a strong desire among the better elements in the Republican party at the North to do away with that bar to the highest national political prosperity known as "the Solid South," not merely for the good it would do the South, but also for the benefit it would unquestionably do the North in obliterating a cause of sectional suggestions and harmful dividing lines. The North is sincere in this.

We here can conceive of no better way of arriving at a solution of the question than by obtaining, considering and adopting, so far as we see it to be possible, the opinion of the South upon the best means of removing the bugbear. THE AMERICAN intends to do what lies in its power to promote this end by laying before its Northern readers the views of Southern men whose position and knowledge entitle them to

speak. Will you not, therefore, kindly oblige THE AMERICAN and the conservative Republicans at the North by replying to the following questions?

1. Has the "Carpet-Bag" influence been hurtful or helpful in your State; and in what way as regards educational, political, social and commercial prosperity?
2. How far has this Carpet-Bag influence been opposed or fostered by State legislation and public opinion?
3. Have the Carpet-Baggers had a fair chance to be honest, or are the troubles which have arisen traceable to weakness of character in the Carpet-Baggers?
4. Is the Carpet-Bag influence with you on the wane, or is it waxing; and why?
5. Are the Northern Democrats a help or a hindrance to Southern political prosperity? If so, what is the remedy?
6. What is the condition of the negro party, and what is its future?
7. Has the time come, or is it near, when the white people of your State will seek affiliation with new parties?
8. What have been the errors in the treatment of the South by the Northern power?
9. What would the South like to have from Northern politicians—the Republican party and the President-elect?
10. What does the South need from them?
11. What does the South expect to get from them?
12. Is public opinion in your State fairly in accord with your own?

THE TWO VIRGINIAS.

IN any consideration of questions affecting the South as a section, Virginia, without disparagement of her sister States, naturally takes the place of honor. The mother of States and statesmen, her example has been ever potent, often for weal and sometimes for woe, with every other Southern Commonwealth. She did not lead the rest into secession, but the encouragement sent from Richmond to Charleston and Montgomery made secession formidable; and when she reluctantly cast her lot with the Confederacy, to her was given the distinction of the seat of the Confederate capital, and of becoming the battle-ground of the war between the States. It is more pleasant, however, to dwell upon the fact that, when the Southern cross went down, Virginia was the first of the prostrate States to get partly on her feet, and, recognizing the inevitable, to seek rehabilitation in the Union on the basis of a thorough acceptance of the results of the war. Her new constitution was framed, indeed, by aliens, but not by them alone; for, contrary to the practice in other States, the people of Virginia participated largely in the election under the reconstruction act, and the able men, "to the manner born," chosen to the constitutional convention exerted a wholesome and restraining influence upon the deliberations of the unlearned partisan majority, largely made up of carpet-baggers and negroes. So, too, when the work of this convention was submitted to the people, the men lately in arms against the general Government did not remain away from the polls in sullen indifference, but came forward and voted with the Republicans to ratify the new Constitution, and in token of good faith elected at the same time a liberal Republican Governor and Legislature, and sealed the act of returning loyalty by sending to the Senate a Union Republican as the colleague of a Union Democrat.

Attendant upon this participation in the work of reconstruction, were many advantages which gave Virginia a start of several years in the struggle for prosperity which has since engaged the mind of the whole South. Chief among these was the comparatively unobjectionable Constitution under which the State was re-admitted to the Union, and the very limited duration of the domination of the malign influence of the carpet-bagger. The wretched creatures to whom a mistaken policy confided the reconstruction of the rebellious States, had a shorter lease of life here than any where else, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. Compared with Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina, Louisiana and Texas, Virginia was a paradise in the long decade between the surrender at Appomattox and President Grant's withdrawal of the supporting bayonet from the last corrupt State government in the section in which the plague of plunder had followed upon the devastation of war. Local self-government was restored to this Commonwealth in 1870, and thenceforward its career has been one onward and upward; not, indeed, without embarrassment, but after all chiefly impeded by the repudiation movement which—while fostered in ignorance by the colored people, demoralized by the reconstruction process—was conceived by native whites, demagogues who, having no chance to gain office in honest political warfare, attempted to administer upon the abandoned estates of race prejudice, cupidity and lust for place left by the carpet-baggers in their flight. But honesty wins in the end, and, with reviving national aspirations, a gradual but sure obliteration of the color line, a public sentiment in favor of equal rights before the law, free schools, a free ballot, a reorganized and strengthened internal improvement system, the stimulation of manufactures, diversification of agriculture and a wonderful development of her vast mineral resources, Virginia is far advanced on the highroad to prosperity, and assured of a future before which her brilliant past must hide a diminished head. The one thing needful is that she shall pay her debts.

West Virginia suffered even less than the mother Commonwealth by the invasion of carpet-baggers. Taken from the Old Dominion by a

Cæsarean operation in the heat of war, she had her troubles in infancy, but was quite a thrifty child when the war closed, and has since grown apace, with few impeding circumstances. The only serious obstacle to her advancement was the illiberal constitution, imposed almost by military necessity, which disfranchised thousands of her best citizens. Being a military necessity, however, it did not long survive the war, and, relieved of its pressure, the people of intelligence and property very soon regained control of the machinery of legislation, and thenceforward there was no trouble between races, and less friction of party prejudice than was manifested in most of the Southern States. West Virginia was not subjected at all to the pains of reconstruction, and was therefore exempt from the attendant evils of carpet-baggery. The present constitution of the State was adopted in 1872. As in Virginia, the organic law makes provision for full suffrage, which is not seriously interrupted, either by force or by fraud, and there is a liberal and efficient public school system. Well managed railroads, together with the use of such rivers as are navigable, promote the development of great mineral resources and manufacturing possibilities. West Virginia has not run into debt on her own account, but there is an unsettled question as to her liability for the anti-war debt of the old Commonwealth. Virginia contends that West Virginia should be held responsible for one-third of the general debt of the State prior to the separation, while West Virginia, although acknowledging a measure of obligation, insists that, as almost the entire debt was contracted for the benefit of the old counties, she should not be held for so large a share. Both of these States are now in Democratic hands, and are likely to remain so for a good while to come, but the Legislature of Virginia is controlled by a combination of debt-scaling Republicans and Democrats, under the general name of Readjusters, and this party has elected most of the county judges, and sent its chief, Gen. MAHONE, to the U. S. Senate.

HON. A. H. H. STUART.

Hon. A. H. H. STUART, whose presentation of the case of Virginia opens the discussion, speaks with the dignity and authority of a statesman of a former generation, but with almost none of the Bourbon bias characteristic of most of his contemporaries, who still take part in public affairs. Mr. STUART is an old-line Whig, and of that wing of the Whig party which, in the North, forms the back-bone of the present Republican organization, and which, in the South, has never been satisfied to call itself Democratic, although training with the national Democracy on questions growing out of the war. He was a friend and companion, we may say, perhaps an adviser, of CLAY and WEBSTER, and served in the Cabinet of President FILLMORE as Secretary of the Interior. In Virginia, since the war, Mr. STUART's influence has been marked and wholesome. It was under his counsel chiefly that the State so soon sought re-admission to the Union on the basis of a candid acceptance of the terms of reconstruction, and at every subsequent crisis in the struggle for the reclamation of Virginia's heritage of prosperity, his voice has been raised in wise words of warning or encouragement, according to the nature of the case. It is not creditable to the State, however, that such a man has not held public office in all these fifteen years, while mediocrity has had its fill of power. Following is Mr. STUART's able contribution to our symposium:

STAUNTON, VA., Jan. 4, 1881.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

SIR: About ten days ago I had the honor to receive a letter from you in which you say, "There is a strong desire among the better elements of the Republican party at the North to do away with that bar to the highest national political prosperity known as the 'Solid South.'" You were courteous enough to add, "We here can conceive of no better way of arriving at a solution of the question than by obtaining, considering and adopting, so far as we see it to be possible, the opinions of the South upon the best means of removing the bugbear."

"THE AMERICAN" intends to do what lies in its power to promote this end, by laying before its Northern readers the views of Southern men whose position and knowledge entitle them to speak."

You then submit a series of interrogatories, answers to which naturally bring up for consideration the causes which have led to the condition of things which you, in common with the better element of the Republican party, so sincerely regret, and of the means by which those causes may be removed or rendered inoperative.

I am rejoiced to hear of the existence of such a feeling in the Republican party, and will take great pleasure in doing anything in my power to contribute to its growth. I am satisfied that much of the estrangement between the people of the two portions of our country has been caused by mutual misunderstandings and misrepresentations, and that the most effectual means of removing it is to diffuse correct information among the people. I am therefore ready to contribute my mite to this great end.

The subject which you present for consideration is a broad one. I cannot undertake, in the limits of a letter, to discuss it in all its aspects. All I propose is to present a few thoughts upon some prominent points, which may lead to a better understanding of the proper relations of the two grand divisions of the country.

I am one of those who never did believe that there was any natural or necessary antagonism of interests between the North and the South. On the contrary, I have often, in Congress and elsewhere, expressed the opinion that the very diversities of soil,

climate, productions, occupations and pursuits of the people of the North and South, which were so often pointed to by demagogues as constituting elements of dissension and rivalry, ought, when rightly understood, to have been regarded as tending to strengthen the bonds of brotherhood which bound us together, as they directed the industry of the two divisions into different channels, and thereby prevented rivalry and competition, instead of creating adverse interests. When the Northern States were mainly employed in manufactures and commerce, while the Southern States were almost exclusively agricultural, how could there be any antagonism or rivalry between them? Each ministered to the wants of the other; each furnished a market for the productions of the other; each was, therefore, the ally, and not the enemy, of the other. For reasons of this character, I always rejected the theory of "an irrepressible conflict" between the North and South as alike unsound in statesmanship and unpatriotic in purpose and intent.

I may add that I have believed for many years, and still believe, that the sectional difficulties which culminated in the recent fratricidal war were the work of selfish demagogues on both sides, whose main purpose was to advance their own unhallowed aspirations.

I believe further that the alienation which now exists would long since have been healed, but for the adroit manipulations of corrupt political leaders, who foment local and sectional jealousies, with a view to make them ladders by which they may climb into office. The time has now come when the people of both sections should take the matter in hand themselves, and see that these artificial causes of dissension, which to some extent paralyze the industry, retard the progress and disturb the harmony of the country, be speedily and effectually rooted out.

But I find that I have, almost unconsciously, wandered from the immediate subject of your inquiry. Returning to it, I desire to say that if any one in the North is disposed to think that the conflicts and sufferings arising from the war, its victories and defeats, its cost in blood and treasure, and its termination by final surrender, have had anything to do in creating what is called the "Solid South," let him be assured he is in error. These things had no agency in it. They had all been calculated and weighed in advance; they were known to be the natural and necessary consequences of war. When the Southern people took up arms, they expected to receive as well as to give hard blows; and their manhood forbade that they should repine at the consequences of the war, to which they themselves had appealed as the arbiter of their dispute; on the contrary, I believe that while both the contending parties were fatigued and exhausted with the mighty conflict and glad to have it ended, like two high-spirited men, who, under the influence of passion, resort to personal conflict, in which both display courage and manly bearing, each entertains higher respect for the other than he did before the first blow was struck; so, when the war was over each of the great parties was more profoundly impressed with the chivalry, constancy and military prowess of the other than it had ever been before. And if the brave men who fought through the war, men like W. T. Sherman and Joseph E. Johnston, had been allowed to settle the matter, in issue—as they proposed to do—the wound would have healed, as the doctors say, "by first intentions," and not a scar would have now remained. But, unfortunately, the people allowed wily politicians—those who were "soldiers in peace and civilians in war"—those who had kept out of harm's way while the battles were raging—to gratify their malice against the unresisting Southern people by every device which a vindictive spirit could suggest.

The ill feeling in the South toward the Republican party may therefore be traced directly to the political wrong and oppression embodied in what are called the "Reconstruction measures." To show that no such feeling existed prior to the introduction of those measures, I need only refer to the fact, that at the election of members of Congress, held in the Southern States in October, 1865, the people took the matter into their own hands, and an almost unanimous delegation of old-line Union Whigs, who had steadily opposed secession, was chosen. Of the nine members elected by Virginia, eight were old Whigs, and the ninth was a Douglas Democrat, who was elected because there were two old-line Whig candidates running against him, and he succeeded in gaining his election by a plurality vote. The other Southern States followed the example of Virginia. There could have been no more distinct overture, by the South to the North, of reconciliation and peace than was thus offered. And I know, personally, (for I was one of those chosen by Virginia,) that the gentlemen thus selected met in Washington with a determination to throw aside everything like sectional and partisan feeling, and to use their best efforts to revive a sentiment of mutual good will. The olive branch, however, was rudely rejected, and we were not allowed to take our seats. This, naturally, created a good deal of indignation among the Southern people, who saw in this act of exclusion of members, who possessed every qualification for membership then "prescribed by the Constitution," not only a contemptuous disregard of the mandates of that instrument, but the indication of a purpose to do gross wrong to those who were seeking to promote the best interests of the country.

Then followed the "Freedmen's Bureau," with all its enormities. The administration of the affairs of this Bureau was committed to the hands of a set of unscrupulous adventurers, male and female, whose principal object seemed to be to offend and exasperate the Southern people. As an illustration of the truth of this statement, I need only refer to the fact, that one of the first steps of the Bureau, in my city, was to seize upon the elegant court house in the centre of the city, for the purposes of a negro school. My law office being near to the court house, and, during the warm weather, the windows being raised, I had an opportunity of seeing and hearing the kind of instruction which was given to the crowds of little negroes, of both sexes, who assembled there daily. The most prominent feature in it was to teach the pupils to sing, at the top of their voices, songs of the most inflammatory, offensive and insulting character to the Southern people.

Next followed, under the disguise of securing to the negroes their civil rights, the attempt to coerce the Southern people to adopt a system of "mixed public schools," and, as far as possible, to enforce social equality between the two races, by compelling them to sit at the same tables in hotels, to intermingle in places of public amusements, to worship side by side in the same churches, and to be buried in the same cemeteries.

Finally, negroes were made eligible to every public position of honor and trust; and, destitute, as they were, of property, education, and intelligence, they were invested with the elective franchise, while every white citizen who had ever held any public office, either State or Federal, was disfranchised.

When the war closed, and the emancipation of the negro race became an accomplished fact, every sensible man foresaw, that, as a necessary, legitimate, and, I may add, proper, consequence, they must at no distant day be invested with all the rights and privileges of other freemen. But the Southern people could not but regard it as an outrage, not only on themselves, but upon every principle of free institutions, that a body of 750,000 ignorant and uneducated negroes, but a few degrees removed from barbarism, should immediately, and without any previous preparation or training, be injected, as a new, and, in many States, a controlling, element, into our political system.

Nor was this sentiment confined to the Southern people. The late Senator Morton, of Indiana, in addressing the Senate of the United States, while this subject was pending before that body, used the following memorable words: "The immediate transfer of more than half a million from the bonds of slavery, with all the ignorance and degradation upon them which the slavery of generations in Southern fields has produced, would be a declaration to the world, that the exercise of American suffrage involves no intellectual or moral qualifications; and that there is no difference between an American freeman and an American slave which may not be unmade by a mere act of Congress."

Had the wise counsel contained in this passage prevailed, the country would have heard nothing of a "Solid South;" many evils, which now oppress it, would have been avoided, and others which threaten us in the near future would have been effectually guarded against. But, unfortunately, passion usurped the place of reason, and these measures, prompted more by malevolence than statesmanship, were hurried through Congress.

And here let me pause a moment to disabuse the Northern mind of certain errors which, if I am to judge from the utterances of the Northern press, have taken strong hold of it. The first is that the Southern people are hostile to the negro race. The second, that their opposition to negro suffrage springs from that hostility to the negro race.

Both these assumptions are destitute of all foundation in truth. The relations between the two races, when undisturbed by extraneous influences, are of the kindest character. Negro women were our nurses in childhood; negro boys were our playmates in our youthful sports; and negroes of all ages were our faithful servants and friends, under all circumstances. This was strikingly illustrated by their fidelity to their masters and mistresses, during the war. As a race, they are kind, affectionate and confiding, and grateful for favors. They now constitute the great mass of our domestic servants and of our agricultural laborers. They are in our households and in our fields; and constitute the best peasantry to be found in any country. They are gradually improving in their circumstances, and in intelligence; and, although, from the childlike simplicity of their character, some are improvident and spend all they earn, large numbers are buying lands and town lots, and erecting houses for their families. I have, myself, sold lots, both in town and country, to a number, on long credits, so as to enable them to pay for them out of their earnings.

It may, then, be asked, why are the Southern people so much opposed to negro suffrage? I answer, that the opposition is to ignorant suffrage, entirely irrespective of race or color. We do not object to their votes because they are negroes—because their faces are dark,—or because they were recently held in bondage. The objection rests on grounds entirely distinct from these. We object to their votes because their minds are dark—because they are ignorant, uneducated, and incompetent to form an enlightened opinion on any of the public questions which they may be called on to decide at the polls.

We, of the South, have been taught to believe, that the virtues and intelligence of the voters are the main pillars on which our free institutions rest; and that whenever the ballot-box is polluted by corruption or ignorance, the safeguards of life, liberty and property will be seriously impaired. And so thought Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, Monroe, and other sages of the revolutionary era. I cannot pause to quote, from the writings of these illustrious men, the lessons of wisdom which they left on record. I will content myself with a single terse extract from a letter of Mr. Madison's. "A popular government, without popular information, or the means of obtaining it, is but a prologue to a farce or tragedy, or perhaps both!"

Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, one of the wisest and purest of living statesmen, on a recent public occasion, said: "Our free institutions rest on intelligence and virtue, and can survive anything, except ignorance and the vice, corruption, and violence, which are so generally the results of ignorance."

I beg to add a brief passage from a speech of Horace Mann, of Massachusetts, delivered long before negro suffrage was thought of. He was discussing the general subject of the necessity of having intelligent voters, and deploring the consequences of ignorance, which, he says, in effect, will place our system of government, "the vastest and wisest ever devised by mortals, under the control of men who are incapable of reading one word of the language which describes its frame-work, and defines its objects and its guards; incapable of reading one word of contemporaneous exposition, of antecedent history or of subsequent development; and, therefore, make it include any-

thing, or exclude anything, as their blind passions may dictate. Phaeton was less a fool when he mounted the chariot to drive the horses of the sun, than ourselves, if we expect to reach the zenith of prosperity and happiness under such guidance."

Deeply impressed, as the Southern people were, with these ideas, they could not fail to resent the attempt to invert their whole social system, and place their lives, liberty and property under the control of the most ignorant classes of the community. They soon discovered, too, that the whole system of "Reconstruction measures," was adopted in a spirit of bitter partisanship, and that the object was not so much to benefit the negro, as to create a new class of voters, who could be easily controlled, and by whose agency the Republican party could be rendered supreme in all the Southern States.

When these purposes became patent, the people of the South saw that every interest which they held sacred was placed in peril. How insignificant were the stamp-tax, the tax on tea, and the other grievances which fired the hearts of our Revolutionary fathers, and impelled them to arms, compared with atrocities like these? When we think of the carnival of crime, plunder and oppression, which, for a series of years, was exhibited in South Carolina, Louisiana, and other Southern States, under the domination of ignorant negroes, inflamed and swayed by desperate adventurers, can any one wonder that feelings of indignation took possession of the minds of the Southern people? They said that energetic measures of self-defence were necessary. They, therefore, banded together, not for aggression, but for defence. They determined, for the time, to sink all former differences of opinion, and to present a united front to the common enemy. These are the circumstances under which, and the purposes for which, the South became "solid." It was a matter of necessity, and not of choice. It presented the only hope of successful resistance to intolerable oppression. It is the pressure of a common danger which now compacts them together. Whenever that pressure is relaxed, the people of the South will fall back on their old party relations, and again divide according to the opinions which they entertain on measures of administrative policy.

People of the Northern and Western States, who have no knowledge of the actual condition of things in the South, indulge in much fine declamation against the evils of "a Solid South," and earnestly appeal to us to abandon our "solid" organization. Our answer is, we are quite as sensible of the evils as yourselves, and we are ready to give it up whenever you will allow us to do so with safety. But how can we change front as matters now stand?

Just here I beg to call the attention of your Northern readers to one or two important facts, which they seem to have overlooked.

In the North and West there is a homogenous population. The intelligence, wealth and respectability of the country is pretty equally divided between the Republican and Democratic parties. In any contest which may arise as to party ascendancy in those States, it is not a matter of very serious interest which party may succeed. Either is competent to administer the government wisely, and each has a deep stake in the prosperity of the country. Such was the condition of things throughout the whole country in the days of the old Whig and Democratic parties. Everybody then felt that the country would be safe under the rule of either party.

But the condition of things in the Southern States now is very different. The Democratic party embraces nine-tenths of the property, intelligence and culture of those States, and the small class of intelligent and respectable gentlemen who belong to the Republican party, are so overshadowed by the ignorant masses as to be powerless. The Republican party, on the other hand, (with the exceptions above referred to,) is composed, mainly, of uneducated negroes, who are unable to comprehend any of the questions which they may be called on to decide at the polls, or even to read the ballots which they deposit in the boxes. It is obvious, therefore, that a change in party ascendancy is a much more serious thing in the Southern than in the Northern States. In the North it is a mere transfer of the reins of power from the hands of one intelligent party to those of another, having equal capacity to govern.

In the South it is the virtual abdication of the virtue and intelligence of the country in favor of ignorance and incapacity. It is an upturning of the whole political system, and putting "the bottom rail on top." It involves the substitution of ignorance, destitution and incapacity as the ruling powers in our State affairs, in place of the control heretofore exercised by the intelligence, virtue and property of the country.

I invite your intelligent readers to try and bring the matter home to themselves. Let them suppose, for example, that, from some widespread discontent among the negroes of the South, a general exodus Northward should take place, and fifty thousand unlettered and semi-barbarous field hands from the cotton, rice, and sugar plantations should precipitate themselves on the fair city of Philadelphia, and become the controlling power in all municipal elections; how would the staid and wealthy citizens like to have all the great public and private interests of their city committed to the keeping of such a class of men, or possibly of a worse class of your own people, elected by them?

These dangers to free institutions, and to the rights of persons and property, are not merely ideal and imaginary—they are practical and real. The robberies and frauds practised on the treasuries of some of the Southern States; the ruinous taxation imposed on others; the "swindles" effected by the issue and sale of "bogus" State bonds in others, must be fresh in the recollection of all your readers.

But there is another and a more insidious, dangerous and far-reaching evil, which is likely to ensue from the domination of ignorance and corruption in the Southern States. It is REPUDIATION! Already it rears its horrid crest in many of the Southern States. Even Virginia, whose name in former days was the synonym of honor and integrity, has not escaped the foul contagion. One of the earliest acts of her first legislature after the war, before negro suffrage had been imposed on her, and when the true people of Virginia were allowed to speak in her behalf, was, by a

unanimous vote, to denounce repudiation, to acknowledge the validity of her public debt, and to declare to the world her purpose to pay it.

In a few years negro suffrage was incorporated into her constitution. Negro votes became an important factor in her State politics; negro delegates were elected to her legislative halls, and white men, elected by negro votes and reflecting negro sentiments, took seats by their side. And what has been the result? Our State has been rent by dissension and strife in regard to the public debt. Repudiation, disguised under the name of "Readjustment," has been made the paramount issue in our State politics. The right is boldly claimed to set aside all the obligations of public faith, and to pay such portions and repudiate such portions of the public debt as the legislature may deem proper; and that, in the event the creditors shall decline to receive the pittance that may be doled out to them, they will be allowed to receive nothing!

By a combination of the faction which holds these dogmas with the negro Republican voters, majorities were chosen to both Houses of our General Assembly, pledged to give legislative sanction to these monstrous ideas. A bill to give effect to this system of "Readjustment" was accordingly passed through both Houses, which blotted out twelve millions of the debt which all acknowledged to have been just in its origin, and greatly impaired the security for the payment of the residue. The veto of the Governor alone defeated for the time this iniquitous attempt. But the contest is not ended. Vigorous preparations are being made to renew it in the elections to be held in November, 1881, when the unholy alliance of Repudiators and negro Republicans hopes not only to retain control of the Legislature, but also to "readjust" the executive and judicial departments of the government, by electing a Governor and Judges of the Supreme Court of the State, pledged to carry into effect their purposes.

Thus far, this doctrine of Repudiation or Readjustment has been confined to the debts of the States. But as the leader of the "Readjuster" party has been elected to the Senate of the United States, and two of its most prominent members have been chosen to the House of Representatives, it remains to be seen whether they may not deem it expedient to give a wider application to their "principles!"

This cloud of repudiation may now be "no bigger than a man's hand," but if it be not swept away by a storm of popular indignation, who can venture to affirm that it will not, within the present decade, overspread the whole political firmament?

This, then, is the present condition of the Southern States. They cannot surrender the control of their domestic affairs to the ignorance, destitution and corruption of the negroes and of those who mislead them. Nor can they dishonor the State and themselves by becoming the allies of Repudiators or of Republicans, who do all in their power to strengthen their hands. As long as these dangers confront us, and the Republican party of the North persists in giving aid and comfort to our enemies, by keeping in offices of honor and emolument men who use their official power and patronage to uphold those who are warring upon us, we must remain "solid."

You ask, then, is there no remedy for this evil?

I have no hesitation in saying that there are means by which the influence of the causes which have led to those unhappy results may be materially modified.

The "Freedmen's Bureau," with all its annoyances, has, fortunately, passed away.

The popular phrensy in regard to civil rights, has, under the influence of the "sober second thought," subsided.

These two great causes of irritation have, therefore, to a great extent, been removed.

The principal sources of dissension that remain are those that result, directly or indirectly, from the premature introduction of negro suffrage. This has now been embodied in our fundamental law. The people of the South are not unwise enough to expect or desire any change in the provisions of the Constitution of the United States in regard to it. They know that it is fixed and irrevocable. But it is in the power of the Government of the United States so to shape its administration as to disarm it of much of its capacity for mischief, and I think the South has a right to ask that its legitimate powers shall be so exercised as best to promote the peace and good order of society.

Among the most effectual means of contributing to this end I would mention the following:

1. Let the Federal Government forbear as much as possible from intermeddling with the administration of the domestic affairs of the several States. This is a field outside of the jurisdiction of the National Government, and any intrusion into it by Federal authority cannot be regarded otherwise than as the usurpation of power not delegated by the Constitution, and, therefore, calculated to engender jealousy and distrust.

2. To this end, let the Federal Government, in the selection of officers to fill positions of public trust in the Southern States, be careful to choose men of ability, integrity and fairness, who will possess the confidence of men of all races and color, and whose counsels and example will tend to promote good feeling between the races,—instead of appointing unscrupulous demagogues, whose only claim is partisan service, and whose only qualification for office is capacity for political intrigues and power to manipulate negro votes.

3. Let the in-coming administration "set its face like flint" against repudiation, in all its forms and shapes. Let it proclaim to the world that the repudiation of public or private obligations is incompatible with the vital principles of the Republican party; that public faith and national honor are essential to national safety, because they afford the best security in time of war of raising the means necessary to maintain our army and navy in active service, and thus enable the Government to bring the war to a successful close. And let it give emphasis to its expressed opinion on these subjects by promptly removing from office every one who is tainted with repudiation, or who may use the power and patronage of his office for the purpose of fomenting local discords, or arraigning class against class, or race against race.

4. As the negro race constitutes the only class of our citizens who are indebted, directly, to the Federal Government for the elective franchise, it would seem that they have a peculiar and exceptional claim on the bounty of the National Legislature for aid, by liberal appropriations from the Federal treasury, in educating them up to the standard of the duties of citizenship which they are required to discharge. All power being "vested in, and consequently derived from, the people," it is plain that if we do not elevate the people up to the level of our institutions, our institutions must soon come down to the lower plane of the ignorant voters who control and direct them. I hold, then, that there is a high moral duty resting on the American people,—and more especially on the Republican party, which made the negroes citizens and voters—to afford them such means of education as will qualify them for the intelligent discharge of their duties as such.

The Trustees of the Peabody Board, at their annual meeting in February, 1880, brought this subject by memorial prominently before Congress. The subject was referred to committees of both houses, and bills were prepared, which, I am sorry to say, are entirely inadequate to the end proposed. The bill which was reported to the Senate has passed that body, but in a form so emasculated as to render it a mockery of the claims of the two millions of colored children who are now growing up without the means of instruction. The late Dr. Barnas Sears, in one of his recent reports to the Peabody Board, speaking on this subject, says: "The mere neglect of a great opportunity may entail disaster on them and their posterity, by suffering a horde of young barbarians to grow up to prey on the peace of society. The peril, if once overlooked in this critical moment, cannot afterward be remedied by legal enactments and penal measures. If men fail to take the necessary precautions, by training the young to be useful citizens, they must expect to reap a corresponding harvest, and see around them a community distinguished for 'dwarfish virtues and gigantic vices.'"

If we were to judge from the frequent and loud professions which have been made on the floors of Congress, and at the hustings, of friendship to the negro race, we would naturally infer that Congress would gladly avail itself of any opportunity to render them a substantial service. But such has not proved to be the fact. The bills which have been reported to the two houses utterly ignore all peculiar claims on the part of the colored population to have special provision made for their education, so, as it were, "to bring up leeway," and place them on a level with their more fortunate white fellow-citizens. Instead of appropriating (as recommended by the Peabody Board) the whole proceeds of the public lands, to be applied for the first fourteen years to the education of the two millions of indigent colored children now appealing for aid, and thereafter to the education of the ignorant of all races and colors, in all parts of the country, these bills propose to set apart only the interest on the annual proceeds, and to distribute that, for a series of years, on the basis of illiteracy, among all the States. In this shape, it is obvious that the bill will be of no practical value, as it is doubtful if it yield ten cents per annum for the education of each illiterate child! Members of Congress have a low estimate of the intelligence of the negro voters, if they suppose that a measure like this will be accepted as a satisfactory provision for the colored children.

Let President Garfield have the courage to frown on this paltry attempt to delude the poor negro by a "sham," which, while it recognizes an obligation to aid in the education of his children, fails to fulfill it. All men concede that the in-coming President is a man of great ability and learning. He fully comprehends the necessity of the general diffusion of knowledge among the voters, who are the source of all political power, and the ultimate judges of all political issues. If he will bring all the influence of his great office to bear on the public opinion of the country, he can soon right this great wrong. By contributing to the enlightenment of the mass of ignorant voters who now exist in the Southern States, and of the larger masses which are growing up without the means of education, he can do justice to an unfortunate race, relieve the Southern States from a burden and a danger which oppresses them like a night-mare, and give new dignity to American citizenship.

Let him pursue this policy, which I have indicated, with steadiness and energy, and he will win golden opinions from all good men. He will do much to restore an "era of good feeling" among his countrymen, of all races and colors, and, unless I am greatly mistaken, before his administration closes, the "Solid South" will be a thing which has ceased to exist.

Very respectfully, yours, &c.,

ALEX. H. H. STUART.

LIEUT.-GOVERNOR JAMES A. WALKER.

STONEWALL WALKER, as they call him down in Virginia, from the fact that he succeeded Gen. T. J. JACKSON in the command of the famous Stonewall Brigade of Confederate Infantry, represents a school of Southern politics very different from that of which ex-Secretary STUART is a graduate. Gen. WALKER probably imbibed old-fashioned Democracy with his mother's milk, and, as will be seen from his letter, still feeds and thrives on it. He represents the hot-headed young cavaliers who went into secession without a pang, fought for disunion with no thought of failure, and laid down their arms reluctantly and full of bitterness. They have renewed their vows of loyalty to the Union, but apparently will not regard the Union as a fact until every department of the government is in Democratic hands. Their love for Democracy grows out of the belief that the Northern Democrats, as a class, sympathized with the South in the war, and have been its best, although sometimes mistaken, friends ever since. To convince Gen. WALKER that the North, or the Republican part of it, does not actually

hate the South, would probably be impossible, except through the election of a Democratic President; as difficult, indeed, as would be the task of convincing many Northern Republicans that, because this gentleman speaks so frankly and so bitterly, the whole South is not honey-combed with disloyalty. Hear Gen. WALKER in his own words:

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

WYTHEVILLE, VA., December 28th, 1880.

SIR: Your favor of the 20th instant is to hand, in which you do me the honor to ask for an expression of opinion on certain political questions now agitating the country, and I cheerfully reply, believing you express your sentiments when you say you are seeking after truth and justice. It is my purpose to reply very frankly to your inquiries and to tell the exact truth as I believe.

You say "there is a desire among the better elements in the Republican party at the North to do away with that bar to the highest national political prosperity known as 'the Solid South.'"

Let me inquire why you do not reverse the proposition, and seek to do away with a Solid North? For it cannot fail to occur to your mind that the North is about as nearly solid as the South. In the late Presidential election, every Southern State went Democratic and every Northern State, except one, went Republican. It strikes us here in the South that Southern Democrats had about as much right to vote solid as the Northern Republicans had. It seems to us, too, that there would be no objections to the South being as solid as the North if she were only solid Republican.

What bar is it to that "highest national political prosperity" which the better class of Republicans in the North are so anxious to produce, for the Solid South to vote as a unit for that brave Union soldier and Northern man, General Hancock?

Virginia has voted three times for President since the war between the States. Once she voted for General U. S. Grant, once for Samuel J. Tilden, and once for General Hancock, all good Northern Union men—one a Republican and the others Democrats,—and each time, I believe, a majority of the popular vote of the people of the United States was cast the same way. The Southern people are Democrats, and have always been Democrats, and as long as they believe Democratic principles to be sound, and calculated to promote the best interests of the Government and the people of the United States they will continue to be Democrats. The mistake Northern Republicans make is by assuming, contrary to the fact, that the South is solid because Southern people are antagonistic to Northern people and Northern interests. The South is solid against the political heresies and political principles of the Republican party, and not against the North as a section. Southern Democrats, as well as Northern Democrats, are opposed to the centralizing doctrines and tendencies of the Republican party, which would destroy the last vestige of "States Rights," and make sovereign States no more than counties. The Southern people are, and have always been, opposed to high protective tariffs, to the use of troops at the polls, to the subordination of the civil to the military power, while all these things have been advocated and upheld by the Republican party; and, therefore, the South has been solid against the Republican candidates for President whenever there was a Democratic candidate in the field to vote for. As between Grant, a Republican, and Greeley, Republican, the South was not solid. Had either Grant or Greeley been a Democrat, he would have had a Solid South to support him.

I believe the popular vote of 1876 showed a majority for Mr. Tilden of one-fourth a million, while the same vote in 1880 showed a very small plurality of some hundreds in favor of General Hancock.

It thus appears that a majority of the people of the whole United States is Democratic, and if we leave the negro vote of the South out of the count, it shows a majority of several millions of white people are Democratic, in the whole United States. If the South is solid for Democracy, you must admit she is solid in very good company.

You ask me to give you "the opinion of the South upon the best means of removing the bugbear" (a Solid South). The best and the only means I know of to remove this frightful spectacle of millions of people voting their honest and sincere political principles at the ballot-box, is to corrupt them, and by bribery induce them to vote for policy, and not for principle.

If Northern Republicans desire to effect a permanent change in the political sentiments of the people of the Southern States, and thereby put an end to a solid South, they can do so by convincing them that they are wrong, and proving to them that the principles of the great Republican party are just and true, and that its aims and objects are national and not sectional. The first step towards this will be for Northern statesmen and the Northern press to cease abusing and misrepresenting the South and Southern people. It is useless for you to deny that if the Northern statesmen and Northern press on the Republican side are true exponents of Republican feeling, that the Republicans of the North hate (yes, that is the word) the South and the Southern people; and hate sown will, like the dragon's teeth, breed a crop of armed men. The price which the Republican party has always fixed as the equivalent for its ceasing to persecute the South has been an unconditional surrender of its Democratic principles, and the adoption of the political creed of that party. Thank God! the Democratic white people of the South are not for sale, and all the patronage and all the blandishments of a Republican administration could not make them prove false to their political principles.

But you ask me a number of questions which I will proceed to answer briefly.

1st. You ask "Has the Carpet-Bag influence been hurtful or helpful in your State?"

In Virginia the Carpet-Baggers never had much influence, but what little they had was hurtful in every way. Their only influence was with the negroes, whom they arrayed solidly against the white people, and deluded with false hopes, and filled with pernicious doctrines.

2d. You ask "How far has this Carpet-Bag influence been opposed or fostered by State legislation and public opinion?"

It has been opposed by public opinion and State legislation, and has long since ceased to exist.

3d. You ask "Have the Carpet-Baggers had a fair chance to be honest?"

The above question is rather a *poser*. As they were born and bred in the North, and in every instance were Republicans, I cannot say what chances they had to imbibe honesty and honest principles from their home associations and party affiliations, but to judge from the results they have had exceedingly limited "chances to be honest." "As the twig is bent the tree is inclined." Of one thing you may rest assured, that no respectable Southern Democrat is responsible for their want of honesty, since none such ever gave them the benefit of their advice, counsel, or company.

5th. You ask "Are the Northern Democrats a help or a hindrance to Southern political prosperity? If so, what is the remedy?"

The Northern Democrats, in so far as they have had the power, have been a help to Southern political prosperity, and, with a Democratic administration, which we hope for in 1885, we expect the South to advance rapidly in wealth and prosperity. To a Democratic administration we look for relief from the onerous and unjust taxes placed upon the industries of the South; and from the enormous and grinding impositions placed upon us by a bounty tariff which puts millions upon millions annually into the pockets of Northern manufacturers at the expense of the Southern producer.

6th. You ask "What is the condition of the negro party, and what is its future?"

By the negro party in Virginia I suppose you mean the *Republican or Repudiation party*, since these parties are one and the same in Virginia. In State politics the negroes and most of the white Republicans are followers of General Mahone, Parson Massey and other forcible readjusters. In Federal or National politics they are Stalwart Republicans. The future of the negro party depends on the influences which are to lead them in the future. If they affiliate with the Readjusters, they will be asked to repudiate the State debt, and then will be cast off and broken into fragments, never more to be united as a Republican party. If they maintain their organization and refuse to affiliate with either wing of the Democratic party in Virginia, they will be a formidable and increasing party, for as capital and immigration from the North is flowing into the State, it will control and organize the votes of those whom it employs.

7th. You ask: "Has the time come, or is it near, when the white people of your State will seek affiliation with new parties?"

With the Republican or negro party, I answer, *No, never*; unless that party changes its principles.

8th. Your next question is: "What have been the errors in the treatment of the South by the Northern power?"

It would take a book to answer this question, and I shall not attempt to specify more than one or two of the most flagrant. In Virginia, the close of the war found her with a loyal State government, which had its headquarters at Alexandria, with a Governor and a full corps of State officers, and a representation in the United States Senate and House of Representatives, which had been recognized during the war, and continued to be recognized by the Government of the United States in every form for nearly two years after, and then a Republican Congress, without cause, declared that Virginia was not a State, made her Military District No. 1, and placed her under military government. This was not only an error but a gross inconsistency.

The second error was in imposing test oaths upon all voters, which disfranchised nine-tenths of the white people; and thus placed the governments of all the Southern States in the hands of ignorant freedmen and thieving adventurers, who despoiled and plundered the people and the public treasury, and endeavored, by exorbitant taxation, levied by pauper legislators, to confiscate the little property left by the ravages of the war. Another glaring and infamous injustice for which the Republican party is responsible, is thwarting the will of the people of the Union and defrauding two Southern States of their electoral vote in 1876, thereby counting Mr. Tilden out and Mr. Hayes in as President of the United States for four years.

9th. Your ninth question is: "What would the South like to have from Northern politicians, the Republican party and the President-elect?"

The South wants nothing from the Republican party or the President-elect. The South has asked for justice at the hands of the Republican administrations for the past fifteen years, and we have now ceased to ask for, or expect justice even, at the hands of that party of sectional ideas, sectional aims, and bloody-shirt policy. We propose to take care of ourselves *politically*, and we are not so blind as not to see that the South has only to remain Democratic four years longer to give us a Democratic administration, nor are we so unaccustomed to defeat as to feel demoralized at the election of Mr. Garfield.

10th. You ask "What does the South need from them," *i. e.*, from the Northern politicians, the Republican party and the President-elect.

We need that they should use the power they will wield for the next four years to do away with that bar to the highest national political prosperity, "*the Solid North*," and cease to abuse and slander those whom they have conquered. It seems that fifteen years after the war should be long enough for the Northern blood to cool. Let us have peace. However, that is more a matter of taste than anything else, for we are used to it; and if it amuses you, go ahead, it don't hurt us.

11th. "What does the South expect from them?"

Judging the future by the past, we expect nothing good for the South or for Southern people.

12th. "Is public sentiment in your State fairly in accord with your own?"

I am not authorized to speak as to the public sentiment of my State. The above are my sentiments, hastily expressed and hurriedly written. If you propose to publish them, I must ask you to correct and punctuate.

Yours, very respectfully,

JAMES A. WALKER.

SENATOR R. E. WITHERS.

Col. ROBERT E. WITHERS, the junior Senator from Virginia, enjoys, in a peculiar degree, the confidence of his constituents. He was a soldier of distinguished efficiency in the Confederate service, and, after the war, gained more distinction as a journalist. Nominated for Governor by the white man's party, which was organized shortly after the war, he had the wisdom and the magnanimity to withdraw, in order to make way for the endorsement, by his party, of the Liberal Republican ticket. That ticket was successful in the election of GILBERT C. WALKER, and the re-admission of Virginia into the Union, as a "reconstructed" State, was the immediate consequence. Col. WITHERS' self-sacrifice in this matter gave him a strong claim upon the gratitude of the people, and in 1873 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor, and shortly afterwards, United States Senator. His re-election would have been certain, but for the rise of the Readjuster party, which he had the honesty and the courage to antagonize. As it is, he will be succeeded in the Senate, on the 4th of March next, by Gen. MAHONE. Senator WITHERS is a man of high character and liberal education, but not very liberal in politics, and is a fair exponent of the sentiments of the straight-out Democrats of old Virginia.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

SENATE CHAMBER.

WASHINGTON, December 20, 1880.

SIR: The evident sincerity of your desire to ascertain the sentiments of Southern Democrats on a subject much talked of, and very imperfectly understood, prompts a departure from my usual line of action, and I, therefore, respond briefly and candidly to your interrogatories, hoping that the Conservative Republicans of the Northern States may be led to appreciate more correctly than they have heretofore done, the causes which have logically, and of necessity, welded into apparent political solidity the section which I have the honor, in part, to represent.

In response to your first inquiry, I will say that Virginia has perhaps suffered less from carpet-bag rule than any of the Southern States. During the period of reconstruction the carpet-baggers for a while held high carnival, and fully vindicated their right to the reputation they have universally borne for rapacity, dishonesty, and reckless disregard of the rights and interests of the people. During this period, all our interests, educational, political, social, and commercial, suffered. The Constitution presented by the convention of negroes and carpet-baggers, for adoption by the people of the State, proposed to debar all persons from holding official position, serving as jurors, or exercising the right of suffrage, who had ever borne arms during the war, or furnished any aid, countenance, counsel, or encouragement, to any person engaged in armed hostility to the United States Government, or to any person who had ever held office, State or Federal; thus depriving Virginia of the services of ninety-nine hundredths of the most respected, influential, and competent of her citizens. Had this Constitution been adopted, the whole power of the State, in every department of its government, would have been wielded by negroes just emerged from slavery, controlled by carpet-baggers, who, as a class, came only to plunder and destroy.

You ask "How far has this carpet-bag influence been opposed or fostered by State legislation and public opinion?"

I answer, that in consequence of the defeat by the people of the most proscriptive and objectionable provisions of the Constitution, the first Legislature elected under it was controlled by the Conservative party, composed of Democrats and Liberal Republicans, and its legislation, sustained by public opinion, was opposed to the carpet-bag influence, since which time Virginia has suffered little from the infliction.

I do not know that I correctly apprehend your inquiry, "whether the carpet-baggers had a fair chance to be honest?" I know of no circumstance connected with their official positions which was inimical to the honest and faithful discharge of duty, except that they had the opportunity to steal, and very largely availed themselves of it.

As I have intimated above, the carpet-bag influence in Virginia is on the wane, as, except in the Federal offices, few of them are now to be found.

I do not know that the political prosperity of Virginia is greatly helped or hindered by the Northern Democracy. A large majority of the white people of the State recognize in the Northern Democratic party the only political organization North which has evinced either sympathy or interest in their struggle for local self-government, and certainly the only one which has ever recognized their claim for absolute equality in the exercise of their constitutional rights.

By your sixth query, you desire to know the condition of the negro party, and its probable future. Up to a recent date, the negro party was controlled absolutely by the Federal office-holders in Virginia, and, being in a minority, and always defeated in State elections, was rapidly disintegrating. Recently, however, under the banner of "readjustment of the State debt," a coalition was formed between the negroes and a faction of the Conservative party, which succeeded in electing a majority of the Legislature, and thus filled the State offices with their adherents. Should this coalition continue intact, the future of the party and of the State is easily forecast.

At present, there seems to be no disposition on the part of the whites of Virginia to seek affiliation with new parties, unless the Repudiation movement be dignified as a political party. Your 8th question, viz.: "What have been the errors of treatment of the South by the Northern power?" is prolific in its suggestions. I can only say, in brief, that the great, fundamental and most mischievous error was in the passage of the various reconstruction measures by Congress. The South had seceded, believing that they had the Constitutional right to withdraw from the Union; the North denied this right, and the war was waged by them avowedly and solely "for the preservation of the Union." The decision by this ultimate arbiter was against the South, and the doctrine of Secession died at Appomattox Court House. Had the Southern States been permitted then to resume their former relations to the general Government, preserving their State autonomy, and repealing their ordinances of secession, there would have been far less trouble. But, with singular inconsistency, it was assumed that the triumphant conclusion of a war waged for the preservation of the Union, had consummated the destruction of that Union. State lines were obliterated, military districts created, and the integrity of the Union was only re-established after conditions were imposed which, in many of the Southern States, if not in all, meant negro domination. It was plain to the most ordinary intellect that the ruling motive which inspired such legislation, was not the restoration and preservation of the Union, but a determination to perpetuate, at all hazards, the ascendancy of the Republican party. The people of the North do not seem to realize that *Republican rule in the South means negro rule, and negro rule means ruin*. I will not elaborate this branch of the subject, but content myself with the statement above. It is, I sincerely believe, the belief of nineteen-twentieths of the best men of the South.

Other causes of complaint against the Republican party are all traceable to this original error. It is unnecessary to enumerate them in detail. I will, therefore, proceed to your next question:

"What would the South like to have from the Northern politicians, the Republican party, and the President-elect?"

I answer, to be treated as the equals of the Northern States, in everything appertaining to their State affairs. They ask for nothing more, and will be content with nothing less.

As to our needs at the hands of Republican party of the North, we need nothing, except to be let alone. Yes, we do need honest, incorruptible, fair-minded, and faithful public officers, who will devote themselves to the efficient discharge of their official duties.

You ask "What does the South expect to get from them?"

The South *hopes* to receive fair treatment at the hands of the incoming administration. I cannot say they expect it, for, however fair-minded, just and liberally disposed the President-elect may be, the South fears that he has not sufficient firmness to resist successfully the pressure which will be brought to bear upon him by the Stalwart wing of his party, which demands a continuance and intensification of that proscriptive policy which has hitherto characterized Republican administrations.

In conclusion, I will say that, in my judgment, I have fairly and frankly given expression to public opinion in Virginia on the subjects referred to, and I might go farther and say, not only in Virginia, but in the whole South.

Very respectfully, etc.,

R. E. WITHERS,

Senator from Virginia.

REPRESENTATIVE J. R. TUCKER.

Congressman J. RANDOLPH TUCKER, of the Sixth Congressional District of Virginia, is a man of national reputation, and needs no introduction. A few years in the House of Representatives have sufficed to bring him into prominence as one of the leaders of his party. A State's Rights Democrat of the old school, he has imbibed so much of the spirit of these later days of the Republic, that we regret his failure to express himself fully in the subjoined letter:

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 15, 1881.

SIR:—I have received your letter and the series of questions you propound.

I would be very glad to reply, but the reply to be satisfactory would have to cover much ground, or be condensed after much careful consideration in order to generalize a vast array of facts and principles.

I have no time to reply now, for I am fully occupied with my representative duties, and have no leisure to go into the questions proposed.

Perhaps it is as well not to do so just now. The drift of public sentiment will, perhaps, in a few months be developed, and I shall take my position in the future, as in the past, for two cardinal principles—the right of each State to the exclusive control of its own local interest, as secured by the Constitution of the United States, and the connecting of the late separated sections by a policy of reconstruction and peace based upon, and the inevitable result of, mutual respect and diverse opinions, and the reciprocal efforts of both to uphold the self-respect of each in regard to past and present issues.

With very kind regards,

Yours, respectfully,

J. R. TUCKER.

The discussion next week will be continued upon the Two Virginias.

TWO MUSICIANS.

I.

When one with skillful fingers swift as wind
Swept to and fro along the glittering keys,
I said: I wish I were away from these
Clattering and noisy players! but resigned
Myself to listen, and I tried to seize
Upon some meaning in the tune I heard.
But in my ears the harsh notes rang and whirled;
It was as if I listened carelessly
Among a crowd of people coarse and rude,
Who talked in shrillest tones of grudge or feud,
Though only seldom one could catch a word.
Even their voices were a bore to me;
I pictured their dull faces, till released
From such companions, when the music ceased.

II.

But when the second player struck a note
And fingered softly out a gentle air—
It was like coming from that turmoil where
I waited, to a light Venetian boat,
Idly to glide among the shadows, there
Where one may drift and dream; and suddenly
One deep sweet voice sang such a song to me.
I listened, and I followed far away—
No music ever sent me so astray,—
I never could call back the tale it told,
But all the world seemed lost, as when, one day,
I laid me down upon a high cliff's crest,
Warm with the sunshine, there alone to rest,
While far below the great waves shoreward rolled.

SARAH O. JEWETT.

THE CIVIL MARRIAGE.

THE vicissitudes of marriage from a civil point of view are many. They are constantly finding place in the papers, in the courts, in the "village talk," and upon the stage, as Daniel Rochat may illustrate; and naturally, for it is sometimes a difficult thing to find out just whether one is married or not. That a man can not always tell whether he is a Benedict or not, was strikingly illustrated recently in a case which arose in the West, and involved the legislative and judicial principles of three different States. It is not often that a man finds himself unmarried and doubly married at the same time; but this is the unfortunate predicament which one man got himself into. He took unto himself a wife in Ohio, and afterwards removed to Iowa, where he lived with her many years. For some reason not made entirely clear, the husband went to Chicago, engaged the services of an attorney whose specialty was obtaining "divorces without publicity," and had the chain which bound him severed forever—as he thought. With the consciousness of having relieved himself of a very great encumbrance, and glorying in a freedom which his recent emancipation had made doubly sweet, he returned to Iowa, the home of his abandoned first love. There he married again—the other contracting party not being the one who had figured in the divorce proceedings—and settled down to enjoy life with his new partner. The first wife, however, entered upon the scene and somewhat dispelled his dreams of unalloyed bliss. She applied to the courts of Iowa and had the divorce obtained in Illinois declared illegal, and secured a decree to the effect that she was the "only original" wife of the defendant, and that all others were counterfeit. Thereupon the second wife applied to the courts in Illinois and had the judgment of divorce declared valid, and the man her true and lawful husband, upon whom no one but herself had any matrimonial claim. The effect of all these judgments is that the man has a wife in Iowa whom he does not want, and one under the laws of Illinois whom he does want. If he remains in Iowa, he must give up the one he wants, and live with the one he does not want, or run the risk of being prosecuted for bigamy. In any event, he has a wife who, in one State or the other, is not his wife, and yet is his wife. He has two wives, in fact, and yet he has none. If he is bent on living with the second wife, he must get out of Iowa; but if he has any property in that State, wife No. 1 has the only claim upon it. Upon the whole, the man is not in an enviable position, and he is probably now engaged in trying to find out how to get married.

What constitutes a legal marriage has from time immemorial bothered the heads of courts, lawyers, legislators and laymen, and time seems to have made the problem only the more difficult of solution. The Roman civil law recognized marriage as a mere civil contract, the completion of which required consent on the parts of the contracting parties, followed by a life together. The common law prescribed no par-

ticular form or ceremony, but in England the entire matter came under the ecclesiastical or canon law, and the contraction of marriage became a religious ceremony. Some stringent provisions were laid down, which caused a frequent flitting to Gretna Green, a small village in Scotland, of couples who desired to be married, despite the laws of the country in which they lived both before and after their marriage. Gretna Green marriages came to be as notorious as were Indiana divorces a short time since. In both cases an evasion of local laws was the cause of their popularity. In Scotland, a mere consent, manifested by declaration before witnesses, and followed by consummation, constituted a legal marriage. There was, therefore, no impediment in the way of people, who found themselves debarred from marrying by the rigid provisions of England, accomplishing their purpose if they chose to take a flying trip to Scotland. The practice became so frequent that England at last refused to recognize the validity of such marriages, where the contracting parties had left England to be married and returned afterward. Still, even in England, the disposition has been towards recognizing the validity of marriages where there has been simply a consent on both sides, followed by an assumption of marital relations. In fact, a man was sentenced to imprisonment in England for bigamy a few years ago, he having married a second woman during the life of the first wife, his marriage to her having been simply by consent, and without any form or ceremony. His case was particularly hard, however, owing to the peculiar manner in which his punishment was secured. His trial came before the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland, and upon the question whether the defendant had been legally married to the first wife, so as to make his second marriage bigamous, the Court was equally divided, being two against two. For the purpose of allowing an appeal to be taken, however, one of the judges joined, *pro forma*, in the decision of the other two, holding that the first marriage was valid and the defendant guilty of bigamy. The appeal was argued before the House of Lords, and the six law peers were equally divided in their opinions, three of them being in favor of the validity of the marriage and three opposed. Consequently the judgment was affirmed and the defendant was sentenced to imprisonment. Soon after, a case involving the same question came before the Supreme Court of the United States and resulted in an equal division of the judges. There is, however, a constant tendency, both in this country and in England, to divorce marriage from religious ceremony. In many of the States, civil officers are specially authorized by statute to unite persons in marriage, and no particular form or ceremony is prescribed; all that is required being that the parties contracting are legally qualified, and that they signify their consent to the marriage. In some States, a license must be obtained from a legally constituted official before the parties can be married.

When, however, persons desiring to be married simply consent between themselves, and thereupon enter into marital relations, the question "Are they legally married?" is one somewhat difficult to decide. The courts have at various times tried to settle the question once for all; but as yet no clearly defined rule has been laid down. The decisions point in every direction, and a careful study of them is likely to leave the inquiring mind in a very muddled condition, and cause it to acquiesce in the proposition that the best thing to do is to follow the example of our neighbors. Yet the courts have declared pretty generally that it is not necessary that a marriage should follow any particular form. For instance, where a man took a woman out riding and placed a ring on her finger, saying, at the same time, "I now make you my wife," and she acquiescing, thereafter the two living together as man and wife, he introducing her to his friends as his wife, and speaking of her by his own name, it has been held that they were lawfully married. Even where the evidence of a solemn declaration on the part of the husband to the wife that he had married her was lacking, the courts have considered it to be conclusive proof of a valid marriage, from the fact that the parties were living together as man and wife, and that the man had always spoken of her as his wife, and paid the bills which tradesmen had presented to him for goods purchased by her. In all the cases, the courts have looked to the intentions of the parties; if it appeared that they intended to contract a marriage, the tendency has been to judicially declare that a marriage had been legally made. A decision rendered in the Supreme Court of New York, however, places a limitation upon this rule. In a suit for divorce, the plaintiff claimed that she went to live with the defendant as his wife about ten years ago; that there was an oral agreement of marriage between them, and that they had lived together as husband and wife until a few months ago. It appeared upon the trial that the plaintiff had a husband living when she went to live with the defendant, and that cross-suits for divorce had been begun between them, but had never been prosecuted to judgment. Subsequently, she learned that her first husband was dead, and immediately after she had learned that fact, she alleged that an oral agreement of marriage was again entered into between her and the defendant. It was shown, however, that the first husband was still alive when the second oral agreement was alleged to have been made, and the court thereupon decided that the plaintiff never was the lawful wife of the defendant, even though both the parties believed that the husband was dead when they made the agreement of marriage; and, further, that even after the husband had died, the

plaintiff did not become the wife of the defendant by the simple act of living with him as such.

One of the difficulties connected with the question of legal marriage in the United States, arises out of the differences existing between the laws of the various States. It is a Constitutional provision that the laws of one State shall have full faith and credit in every other State; but how this is to be done, it is not always easy to determine, when the validity of a marriage is in question. This difficulty most frequently arises where a person, against whom a divorce has been obtained, and who is prohibited by the decree from marrying again, leaves the State for the purpose of contracting another marriage. The marriage is generally valid in the State where it is contracted, for usually one State refuses to recognize the binding force of a decree of a court in another State which holds one party as married and leaves the other free. But in the State where the divorce was obtained, the marriage can not be recognized as legal, or it would be impossible to give effect to its own laws, which declare that one who is divorced cannot be married again during the life of the other party. In the numerous cases that have arisen on this point, two clearly distinct lines have been drawn. One is that where the party leaves the State solely to contract an unlawful marriage, with the intention of returning immediately afterwards, and does so return, the marriage is wholly void and illegal. The other distinction is that if the person leaves the State and takes up his residence in another State, becoming a citizen of the latter, he is at liberty to get married, and the marriage being legal where contracted, must be recognized as such in the State where the divorce was obtained. Notwithstanding the seeming clearness of these principles of law, there is much doubt and conflict of opinion concerning the question whether a State can at all set aside a marriage that has been legally contracted in another State. The principal cause of there being such uncertainty in regard to marriage, is that the questions which arise usually come up only after one or both of the parties most particularly interested is dead. Upon the legality of the marriage depend certain rights of third persons, and the decision of the question is generally hampered by uncertainty regarding the intentions of the original parties. For this reason, if for no other, those who marry will do well to consult the popular tastes and prejudices, as they exist at present, and sacrifice for the time being their individual predilections for novelty or independence.

LITERATURE.

THE POETRY OF ASTRONOMY.

THE fortunate man who lives in the latter half of the nineteenth century cannot adequately appreciate the character and extent of the good fortune which he has inherited as "heir of all the ages." In every department of his multifarious life, science has made vast strides, and common sense has gone hand in hand with science. The first aim of all rational instructors is now to interest—formerly it was to impress, we might almost say to daunt. Men have come to recognize that the mind is one, though many are the channels by which it is reached, and that truth—knowledge—is one and disdains no assistance, no illustration. As a result of the popularization of science, the school boy of 1880, in one of our cities, if he has but a moderate desire and taste for such subjects, knows more of many of the sciences which were wont to be regarded as awful and abstruse than the well-informed men of 1840 knew, or could possibly have acquired. There is no science grander or more attractive than that which teaches us what may be known of the origin, duration and fate of our own planet, and its place and functions in that vast universe on whose shining floor it is but a speck of dust. Few sciences have of late years engaged the attention of more and more able students, and we fancy that if the votes of the immense reading public interested in such themes could be polled, it would be found that the most popular of the popularizers was Mr. Richard A. Proctor, whose "Poetry of Astronomy" is now lying before us, a volume which will, we think, be admitted by all competent critics to rank with the best that its gifted author has written. Of him and his follow-workers, it might be said that they have improved on Milton's ideal education, and have pointed us out a right path, *not* laborious at the first ascent; but everywhere so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming.

It has been imputed to Mr. Proctor as a fault that he is apt to employ "taking" titles for his lectures and essays, and such critics will doubtless take exception to such "catch-lines" as "The Planet of War," "Living in Dread and Terror," "The Sun in his Glory," and "When the Sea was Young." The great mass of readers will, we are confident,—in America, at least, where our newspapers aim at introducing their subjects with titles of piquancy and promise—decline to sustain such an exception. Mr. Proctor has himself entered a sound and earnest protest against the apprehensions of his least liberal critics. "Many think," he says, "that science cannot truly be called science if clothed in poetic garb, and, on the other hand, others seem to fear that a glory must depart from the face of nature if science scrutinize her mysteries too closely. I believe both these fears to be unfounded—that science need not be less exact though poetry underlie its teachings; while, beautiful and glorious though the ordinary aspect of nature may be, a deeper poetry, a more solemn significance, a greater beauty and a nobler glory, can be recognized in the aspect of nature when science lifts the veil which hides it from the unaided vision. * * * In preparing the essays in the present volume, on the one hand I have not been deterred by scientific scruples from presenting the poetic aspect of recent astronomical discoveries, nor, on the other, have

I feared lest the recognition of the real significance of these discoveries should do aught but enhance our conceptions of the glory and splendor of the universe."

It is doubtful whether, for the earnest reader of even moderate ability, theory and illustration possess the fascination of figures. Of figures in their majesty, that is—not of fractions and a formula, but of those tremendous arrays which attest the immensity of the universe and the grandeur of the pigmy who weighs and measures it. In such statistics, Mr. Proctor's book always abounds, and in illustrations of these tremendous facts he is always happy. The sun, he tells us, emits as much heat in every second of time as would result from the combustion of 11,600,000,000 of tons of coal. For at least ninety millions of years, according to the testimony of the stratified rocks, rain has fallen upon the earth as at present, and the sun has poured his rays upon the ocean, and, wide as are the limits of Sir William Thomson's estimates, deduced from the observed underground temperature of the earth,—which place the period of the consolidation of its crust at not less than 20,000,000 years, and not more than 400,000,000,—a value well within them accords with the computation just mentioned. Mr. Croll, in considering the question of the origin of solar energy, assumes that a nebulous mass was formed by the collision of two bodies, each of half the mass of the sun, rushing full tilt upon each other, with a velocity of nearly 500 miles a second, their concussion generating enough heat to last more than 50,000,000 years, while 20,000,000 years would be provided for by the subsequent condensation of the mass. Against this theory, in some of its aspects, Mr. Proctor brings a curiously impressive array of figures. If the sun and the sun's nearest neighbor among the stars were aimed point blank at each other, and travelled to the encounter, each at the rate of 500 miles a second, they would meet when seven centuries had elapsed,—not before. "Supposing a million stars, scattered as stars are now scattered, were to rush in a flight to meet a million stars similarly scattered, at the rate just mentioned, a million years or so would elapse before the two flights had rushed through each other, and the chances would be many millions to one against even a single collision occurring. Such bodies would have to be strewn far more densely through space than the stars are to make it probable that, among several millions of them, one collision would occur in a million years. How far off is the sun? Well, if a baby were born with an arm long enough to lay its finger tips on the incandescent mass, and burned its finger on the day of its birth, it would have to live a hundred and thirty-two years before it felt the pain of the burn. If, as Byron dreamed:

'The bright sun was extinguished, and the stars
Did wander darkling in the external space,
Rayless and pathless, and the icy earth
Swung, blind and blackening, in the moonless air,'

no long misery would trouble us. In less than one day, every drop of moisture in the air would be precipitated; in less than another, all the heat remaining to the black earth would be radiated away into space, and a cold, in comparison with which the bitterest Arctic winter would be as the warmth of a summer's day, would take possession of the entire earth, and no living thing could possibly survive to the end of the third day. Tremendous is the solar energy; and nothing is so impressive as the statistics of its waste; only one ray of every 230,000,000 falls on any of the planets,—the rest are poured into the star depths and lost."

It is in the earth itself that perhaps Mr. Proctor's readers will take the greatest interest, and graphic are his pictures of its phases, which he gives us, beginning away back "when the sea was young." "The earth's whole frame," says the author, "was intensely heated. Her real surface was doubtless partly solid and partly liquid then, as now; but the solid portion glowed with ruddy, and in places with white, heat, while the liquid portions, instead of being water, as now, were formed of molten rock. Above this surface, with its tracts of fluent flame, was the fiery atmosphere of that primeval time, enormously deep, complex in constitution, bearing enormous masses of aqueous vapor, and every form of cloud and cloud-layer, swept by mighty hurricanes, whose breath was flame; drenched with showers, so heavy that they might rather be called floods, and tortured by the up-rush of the vaporous masses formed as these floods fell hissing on the earth's fiery surface." Only after myriads of centuries, came the time when the surface so far cooled as no longer to glow with ruddy light, and no longer to reject by vaporizing the waters which fell upon it. Then a fearful darkness prevailed beneath the still mighty canopy of cloud; for only little by little, by very slow degrees, would the water descend upon the earth's surface. Heated showers of hydrochloric acid fell, drenching the primitive igneous rocks, which probably resembled in composition certain furnace slags or volcanic glasses, followed by torrents of heated sulphuric acid; and the saltiness of the sea to-day is eloquent of the tremendous activity of the primeval processes, under whose action sixty thousand millions of millions of tons of salts were extracted from the earth's substance. Fascinating, however, as these subjects are, we own to our individual preference for Mr. Proctor's essays on the Moon and the Martian satellites,—those wee moons, where one of us of a hundred and fifty pounds weight on earth would weigh four ounces (and, if he preserved his nervous and muscular energy, should be able to jump 3,000 feet high, with a velocity of nearly two miles (9,600 feet) a second, or cover in a running leap 12,000 feet, though, owing to gravity, and the inability of the muscles to move at the rate of two miles a second, the athlete would have in practice to content himself with a jump 2,400 feet high, occupying ten minutes in its execution, while, in his running leap, with the preliminary run, he would travel over about a sixth part of the circumference of his little world). There are some amusing calculations as to the appalling size to which the Martian lunarians might grow, remaining as active as we are in our own world,—Mr. Proctor had already showed the impossibility of Swift's Brobdingnagians; there might be giants in those moons 3,600 feet high, but there would be this advantage for lunarian Jacks who set forth to kill them—the giant-killer could get in a trenchant blow half a minute before the giant knew he was hurt, and get another half minute's start ere the monster could

start to run after him. In a three-mile walk on one of those satellites, the traveller would pass from an arctic to a tropical temperature, and wars would be singularly complicated, by the fact that a Krupp gun, with a range of five miles, when discharged, would fire a projectile out of the moon forever, and itself recoil to a point some six miles from that at which it was fired.

We note, in running over this most delightful of volumes, a curious misprint on page 54 (line 3—"thousand" for "hundred"), and we are inspired with the wish that whenever a work of this sort, so fascinating and useful to the young, were published in America, it could be edited especially for their advantage. Thus there is a difference in the ton measure of weight of one-eighth, which amounts to quite a pretty sum when we are discussing totals of thousands of billions; and where it is necessary to draw illustrations from small areas of territory, or to compute distances in a familiar manner, why should the comparison not be made with an American State, or points conspicuous in American geography? (Philadelphia: Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.—After careful perusal of four hundred and twenty pages, to be in doubt as to the aim or object of the author of a book, is disappointing. Mr. Seward's work is a most ultra philo-Chinese effort, and the first fourth of the contents is selected from the testimony before the Congressional Committee on Chinese Immigration, which began its investigations in San Francisco in October, 1876, supplemented by copious quotations from books favorable to the Chinese, to show that the prosperity of California has been very materially advanced by the immigration of Chinamen. That the labors of the Chinese have been remarkably, it may be almost said, incalculably, valuable to California in the results of their physical work, none will gainsay; their value in positions of manual labor has been conceded by even the "sand lot" opponents, and Mr. Seward's effort, through seven chapters of Part II., to prove what is not denied, implies an excess of zeal. Part I. is devoted to the probable number of Chinese in this country; which, by the courtesy of General Walker, we are enabled to give accurately from the figures of the census of 1880. There are in the United States 105,653 Chinese, in California 75,025, San Francisco, 21,745. In Nevada there are 5,420; Oregon, 9,573; Idaho, 3,378; Washington Territory, 3,182; Colorado, 610; New York, 924; Pennsylvania, 160. As a further contribution to material facts regarding San Francisco, we may say that her population, exclusive of Chinese, is 212,175; the total value of real and personal property of city and county for 1880-81 is \$253,330,098, on which the taxes were about \$5,000,000; of this, the amount assessed to the Chinese is \$1,660,450 (real, including improvements, \$394,380; personal, \$1,266,670), on which they pay taxes amounting to \$36,695.95.

Mr. Seward's work contains many utterances and testimonials of witnesses who antagonized his proteges most heartily, and these seem to be introduced with no higher motive than that they may be pronounced unworthy, or ignorant, or careless, or warped. This disposition is strangely developed in Chap. I., Part IV., wherein Mr. Seward indulges in a diatribe against the anti-Chinese Congressmen who favored the 15-passenger act, probably as a grateful appreciation of the leniency to the author who he defied Congress in the matter of the records and books of the Consulate at Shanghai; when, if ever, to quote Mr. Seward's words, *there was* "something due by honorable Senators and honorable members to their own dignity and good name, and 'something due to the dignity and good name of the nation.'" The gentleman in "Hudibras," who could "distinguish and divide a hair," was doubtless Mr. Seward's model in the argumentative portion of the work, while, in order that he might be proven as *not* "profoundly skilled in analytic," he criticises at length the language of Mr. Blaine. Part III. is an examination of the "objections which have been advanced against Chinese immigrants," which recalls the old story of the criminal who offered to combat evidence which eye-witnesses might bring against him, by the testimony of any number of people who did *not* see him commit the asserted crime. This is the line of reasoning with which Mr. Seward would disprove everything said against the Chinese in the United States; that their labor is servile; that they displace other laborers; that they are a vicious people; that they have set up a government in California, &c. The reader of Mr. Seward's work will probably notice that he does not positively and emphatically deny the manifold assertions of popular prejudice against the Chinese, his disclaimers being through the mouths of others, who think and believe, and have opinions, etc. This avoidance of his own flat contradiction of the truth or relevancy of the disparagement and contumely accorded to the Chinese, is significant. Respecting the contracts under which the Chinese come to this country, and advances of money in China to the immigrants, Mr. Macondray tells the whole truth when he answered, "I really know nothing about that matter at all," and, if *all* the other witnesses had answered the same, their testimony would have been more worthy of attention by the Committee of Investigation.

From 1847 to 1867 a saturnalia of crime, of which the poorer classes were the victims, was kept up in Kwang-Tung, loathsome and distressing to foreigners at Hong-Kong (except Spaniards and Portuguese), the occasion being the coolie traffic to Peru and Cuba. Almost under the guns of the navies of the civilized world, towns were despoiled, and whole cargoes of miserable creatures obtained at a single swoop; organized gangs would steal entire families from their houses, parents sold their sons, fugitives bargained away themselves, and banditti bought their spoils; the shipping points were Macao and Hong-Kong, and many a blush of shame mantled the cheeks of Americans in China, when they saw their flag covering ship after ship conveying these miseries to the Chinha Islands and Cuba. After the gold discoveries in California had become known in China, some venturesome spirits made their way to the El Dorado, and, their reports being satisfactory, Chinese capitalists dispatched vessels to San Francisco, carrying laborers, not so irremediably slaves as those shipped to Peru and Cuba, but so *bound* to their actual owners, that it was simply a question of the

degree of treatment. "Fa-kei-yen," or American, has, up to five or six years ago, been in great favor among the Chinese, the American country a reasonably good place to go to, and the Chinese merchant not loth to take a risk in sending his countrymen there as *emigrants*. These were collected from within a radius of two hundred to three hundred miles from Canton, and were the abjectly poor, selling themselves, or being sold, to provide food for their parents, or own families, or for gambling debts, or scapegraces fleeing to avoid punishment. These were brought to Hong-Kong to await shipment, and detained in "Barracoons," prison-houses, with barred windows and doors, guarded day and night, and trouble among the confined promptly corrected by the Hong-Kong police. The scandals became too great, and in 1860-'61 the home authorities compelled the removal of the system away from the Island. The white witnesses quoted by Mr. Seward concur in judging the Chinese as independent of any control in making their contracts and in their movements, and this unanimity might be a strong factor for their correctness, so long as they cannot go beyond the Golden Gate for other information. We will supply what the witnesses lacked; a contract made in China is not simply an agreement between two persons, but has a penalty implied or expressed, whereby the families of the contracting parties are made responsible, and the law, or rather the officials, will enforce the penalty with all the vigor demanded by the aggrieved side. Mr. Seward knows very well that a debtor can be pursued in a way inexplicable to the American intelligence, and he could explain, if he would, that many a Chinaman bears himself properly, because it is the price of domestic safety of a father, or a wife, or a daughter, or, in instances, of the whole family. Mr. Seward makes a strange blunder in introducing into his book the testimony of Chinamen, as proof of an assertion, unless he shelters himself under "A beau mentir qui vient de loin." Mr. Seward, as Consular officer at Shanghai, has seen in countless instances that a Chinaman is prone to lie by education, habit and inclination; that he has no sense of moral obligation, and the only consideration making an oath binding would be the certainty of falsehood being discovered and signally punished by some earthly magistrate. Mr. Seward did not, probably, recall to his mind that the Chinese language has nothing corresponding to our appreciation of *lie*, the nearest approach being *tai-wah*, "big talk." The tenacity of adherence to "old customs," or the ways of their forefathers, peremptorily forbids a Chinaman leaving his country, if he can help himself, and the well-to-do lose caste by the bare suggestion, except on governmental affairs.

Secret societies among the Chinese are dealt with in Chapter V. of this part; *imperium in imperio*, with powers to impose pains and penalties, and to execute them, when necessary, even to death. This chapter is the choicest *non constat* sophistry in the book, but, unfortunately for its statements and arguments, Chapter VII. elaborates the *Hip-Ye-Tung* band, and states the corrupt and demoralized condition of the police of San Francisco, which directly and indirectly obstructed and thwarted the earnest efforts of the Six Companies to break up that band and generally to suppress wrongdoing among their countrymen. Will Mr. Seward state what appeals were made to him, while Consul-General, by Chinese officials, to aid them in stamping out the *Triad Society*, as it was known among foreigners? If the Chinese Government was powerless for many years to extirpate a secret society on its own soil, although bringing to its aid the threats and terrors justified by the plea that the object of such society was the subversion of the ruling dynasty, how abortive would be the puerile efforts against secret societies in this country. The Six Companies are an interesting study; one of them consists of "myself, inspector and cook." Each Company, by its president, asserts the care of its own sick, but ignorance, as to why so many sick were in the San Francisco hospital, is the answer of all the presidents. The Six Companies are agencies of Wohang and other firms in Hong-Kong who ship Chinese to America. Their duties are to compel the observance of every obligation entered into before embarkation by the emigrant. Within the past ten or eleven years, the Chinamen coming here are of a somewhat better class than they were previous to about 1870, composed of agricultural laborers very largely, who obtain from Wohang and his coöperators their passage, and incidentals for the voyage, and for such advance of funds they pay a round interest.

Mr. Seward next deals with the objection to the Chinese, that they are vicious people, and adduces the code of ethics formulated by Confucius as the basis of the government of their moral life, and what moulds the consciences of the people. These teachings, as presented by Mr. Seward, are sublime; but—a Chinaman's books treat of nothing else but of benevolence, justice and propriety, and his life is surrounded with moral maxims; the lintel and door-posts and every corner of his house are pasted over with edifying sentences and virtuous precepts; his tea cups and rice bowls tell him to cultivate goodness, so that any failure to be virtuous is not for want of inculcation. The truth is, however, that the Chinese, like many of our own people, are incarnations, not of virtue and morality, but of cant, and a make-believe of *sincere* cant, as Carlyle called the worst of all cants. Their nature, capacities, idiosyncrasies, instincts and qualities are not describable to the thorough comprehension of the foreigner; fatalists and singularly stoical, when necessity compels; with no sense of gratitude, and by our lights utterly without moral sensibilities; their integrity just as far as honesty is the best policy for themselves; affectionate to the helpless of their own family, as the young child or old person, but obdurate of heart towards others, be they relatives or strangers; the moribund are carried to outhouses or to the field to die unattended, that evil spirits may not afflict the living in the late home of the deceased; grossly lax as to virtue, and shameless in prurency and carnality, libidinous to the utmost that the opportunity serves. The religions, in the acceptance of duty to God and man, of China range from the extremes of philosophy to the extremes of superstition, but they have not been cultivated in the direction of the love of God, and therefore have not been very fruitful of good. Mr. Seward quotes Dr. Legge, a *facile princeps* among classic Sinologists, respecting the influence of Confucian teachings on the people, but the quotation is not ample enough; this authority says that the State religion of China recognizes a Supreme

Being, *Shang-Fi*, and that *only the Emperor worships*. Dr. Legge says: "The people, as I have already pointed out, being cut off from the worship of God for themselves, there only remained for them the worship of their ancestors, the only other channel that had been opened in the nation for the flow of religious feeling. The sages, therefore, dealt with filial duty so as to make a religion of it." Here in is the damning fact against Confucianism in this ignorance of human need. Ancestral worship is a religion, a system of scrupulous faith and worship, a superstition which *all* obey, or lose caste, or worse. It is not claimed that departed ancestors are invested in Hades with any distinct and effective power over the living, but valuable influences are conceded, and the living are careful to take the benefit of any doubts on the subject—the fundamental tenets, the exhaustive doctrine and precepts of ancestral worship, the belief directing and governing the inner and outer life, which make up "ancestral worship," are glossed over to the outer world by Confucianism with its wealth of prudery and Pharisaical cant. Confucian literature and old China vases are equally valuable as curiosities, venerable by age, and priceless to some as inimitable. Until lately, Chinese classics were seldom translated liberally, the few scholars capable of rendering the idioms intelligibly seeming to consider a grotesqueness as necessary in language as the "old China" devotee does a *bizarre* ornamentation on cups and vases. How far the Emperor, as the father of his people, has been successful in the "diffusion of a system of morals suited to * * * the stability of their Empire," is best shown in the great Taeping rebellion, the Mahomedan uprising in Yunnan, the Nien-fei revolt in Shan-tung, and a few more of the same nature in a small degree. On page 419, Mr. Seward says that the Government of China, co-operating with that of Portugal, has taken certain steps which "has ended all emigration of the Chinese to Peru and Cuba."

Probably his memory may be refreshed by reverting to the late failure of an American firm at Hong-Kong by reason of losses incurred in an endeavor to carry on the traffic between that port and Callao by steam vessels. As the book is perused, a feeling is apparent that the Chinese have been badly used, because of inexcusable ignorance regarding them by our countrymen, and a sense of relief accompanies the laying down of Mr. Seward's book. Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1881. 1 vol.

ADDISON'S ESSAYS.—A neat piece of editorial work is the elegant little volume of "Selections of Addison's Essays," by the historian J. R. Green, the author of the English histories. The introduction is very pleasant reading—a model of pure English, quiet in tone, and crammed with valuable thought. In picking out the best of Addison's essays from the mass of rubbish beneath which they were buried in the "Tatler," "Guardian," and "Spectator," in pronouncing upon them so warm a eulogy, and, in bringing them out in so attractive a form, Mr. Green has done all that could be done to re-popularize this favorite author of his boyhood. But we cannot help thinking that not many readers will succeed in reading the book through, and that Mr. Green's introduction will form its chief attraction. As he says of Addison's religious speculations, so we say of his society essays—it is hard to read them without a yawn, in this day of intense excitement and continual discovery. Yet, there is a class of people who delight in such quiet reading as "The Twice-Told Tales," the lighter sketches of Irving, and those of Addison and Steele. To such, Mr. Green's book will be very welcome. The freshest and most interesting portion of the introduction is that in which the editor traces out the causes which led to the production of the light, popular kind of writing, of which the "Spectator" offers an example. These causes are various, and all sprang from the changed conditions of society which the revolution brought about. Mr. Green, however, confines himself to one—the change in the social and intellectual status of woman. Before this time, dramas, theological writings, and popular literature had all been written for men alone. But from the time of the Great Rebellion a change in woman's position occurred. "The new dignity given to her by the self-restraint which Puritanism imposed on human life, by the spiritual rank which she shared equally with her husband or son, as one of 'the elect of God,' by the deepening and concentration of the affections within the circle of the home, which was one of the results of its withdrawal of 'the godly' from the general converse and amusements of the outer world, told quickly on the social position of woman. And it told quickly on her relations to literature. It is now that, shyly and sporadically, we hear of women as writers; of the Duchess of Newcastle, of Aphra Behn, of Mrs. Hutchinson. And it is now for the first time that we hear of women, not exceptional women, such as Lady Jane Grey, but common English mothers and maidens, as furnishing a new world of readers. It is in this new relation of writers to the world of women that we find the key to the Essayists." Addison did not originate the new style of writing; but he made it classic, made it a part of literature. He has his paper served up with the tea and bread and butter, "and chats with the little group around the table over the last new play or the last new head-dress; but he chats with them, too, over poetry, and literature, and politics, and morals, and religion." The editor does not give Addison's political, critical, moral, or religious essays, because for us they are dead—outworn. The great craze, or enthusiasm, of the age was for moral reform and moral disquisitions.

Addison was the son of a country parson, and, although he declined to take orders and joined the wits in London, still throughout his life something of the "old home-atmosphere of the parsonage" lingered about him, and his purity and reverence, and genial toleration, helped very much to make him the popular lay preacher of the day. He was thus, in Mr. Green's opinion, the ancestor of Howard and Wilberforce, and Matthew Arnold. "He had an enthusiasm for conduct." "For a whole century, the 'Spectator' had greater weight on moral and religious opinions than all the charges of the bishops." Mr. Green finds 'he chief charm of Addison to lie in his delicate and quiet humor, exquisite reserve, subtle tenderness, geniality and pathos, and light and playful fancy. The series of essays on old Sir Roger de Coverley seem to us the finest in this selection; their genial humor is as refreshing and soothing as one could wish.

Probably the best way to enjoy Addison is to read him when the mood takes one, as one reads Marcus Antoninus and other favorites. Macmillan & Co. London and New York. 1880. pp. xxvii and 573.

A VILLAGE COMMUNE.—"Ouida's" latest novel is a story of village life in southern Italy. The moral, or ethical *motif*, is visible from the very start. It consists in rousing the reader's indignation at the wrongs suffered by the Italian villagers and peasants at the hands of the "two-penny Gesslers" and jacks-in-office, who transact the public business of the communes. The novel will undoubtedly do good in calling attention to the sufferings of the Italian poor. "Ouida" pronounces public education in Italy to be a farce; says the poor are ruined by thousands, owing to the enormous taxation; and thinks the chief blame lies at the door of the higher classes, who are extremely apathetic concerning the sufferings of the lower classes. But that the author's picture of village tyranny is exaggerated and very highly colored, no one will need to be told who has read any of her previous works, and to those who have not, the same is evident on the face of things. The chief merit of "A Village Commune" lies in its vigorous and really beautiful local descriptions, and its details of folk-life. Several fine old Italian songs are given, such as that beginning:

"Or è di Maggio e fiorito è il limone."

The plot is a rather common-place love story, and the reader's interest is sustained largely by sensational means, by dread, by sympathetic horror, etc. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1881, 324 pp.

THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN.—Professor Coppée, of the Lehigh University, has written a book with this title, about all that can be said in favor of which is, that it furnishes, for convenient reference in English, a connected chronicle of the history of the Moors in Spain. It is a continuation of Washington Irving's "History of Mahomet and His Successors," which left the Arabians at the Pillars of Hercules, about to enter upon the conquest of Spain. The work is accurate and erudite, but prolix and meagre in style. It belongs to the old school of historical writers—to the days before Green and Freeman and Macaulay. The dull chronicle of battles and civil events should have been compressed into one-third of the space it now occupies, and the meagre sketch of the arts, customs and literature of the Arab-Moors, given at the close of the work, should have been expanded, enriched and fused with the rest of the material into a compact and picturesque description of the social customs, interior mental life, arts, sciences, and physical environment of this remarkable people, whose military movements formed the least interesting part of their brilliant, exotic life. The volumes are very tastefully printed and bound. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 1881. 2 vols., pp. xxxiii and 951.

DRIFT.

—Henry Holt has just issued a timely volume, called "Pictures from Ireland." It is by Terence McGrath.

—We are not to be counted among Mr. Talmadge's admirers, but if his recent sermons on the stage do not call the blood to the cheeks of some newspaper men in New York, it is because they have lost the power to blush. He has been represented by both pen and pencil as the chief assailant of the French actress now in this country. One of the most effective of newspaper caricatures depicted him as an unclean carrion-bird attacking the body of Sara Bernhardt's boy, while she, like Rizpah in the famous picture, defends her child. It now appears that Mr. Talmadge never has made any allusion to Miss Bernhardt, and has taken particular pains to know nothing about her. Also, that the sermon on the stage, published a year ago as his in the New York papers, and denounced publicly by Mr. Davenport in this city, was a forgery by a New York Bohemian, with the exception of the text. We do not see in what sense the authors of these infamies can be held less guilty than the forger of the Morey letter. The good name of a religious teacher—be he Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile—should be guarded from the public slanderer with at least as much care as that of a political candidate. We should have hoped that newspapers which poured contempt upon sadly misnamed *Truth*, would have been at least as emphatic in their condemnation in this instance. But where we have seen any comment on the sermons, it has turned merely upon the rather liberal view Mr. Talmadge takes of the drama.

—The Life and Letters of John Howard Raymond, who was formerly President of Rochester University, and also of Vassar, is announced by Fords, Howard & Hurlbert. The same house also announces a book on housekeeping and cookery, by Miss Helen Campbell, who has been made a martyr in the South by certain stalwart papers, and Ploughed Under, a story of an Indian chief, told by himself, a book that may be expected to make a sensation, now that the Poncas and their wrongs are uppermost in the discussions of the day.

—It is very evident that Jonathan Edwards was the bugaboo of Oliver Wendell Holmes's youth. The great theologian was spoken of by the Autocrat, years ago, in terms which seemed to indicate that the Doctor still remembered with what horror and trembling he had first read the sermon on "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God." With all his hatred of Edwards, he evidently appreciates his greatness. To what De Quincey calls "the literature of force," America has contributed no greater name than that of Edwards. You may detest his use of his power, but you cannot, after once feeling it, deny its greatness and its uniqueness. Foreign critics do him more justice than do his own countrymen. What Mr. Leslie Stephen thinks of him, he has shown in a recent critique. Professor F. D. Maurice pronounces the *Treatise on the Will*, "the most original, and in some respects, the most important product of American literature," and compares his metaphysical speculations to those of Spinoza.

Some months ago, Dr. Holmes took up an old and vague tradition that among the unpublished papers of Edwards was one showing him to have become a Unitarian in his later days. This forced the publication of the paper—a piece far below the level of Edwards's best works, but more than orthodox in its antithesis to the Unitarian theology. Dr. Holmes now returns to the charge. If Edwards was not a Unitarian, then he was a Universalist, and certain unpublished papers of his show that he had abandoned the horrible views of the future of sinners his sermons contain. We fear that our genial

poet is on a wild-geese chase again. It is true that High Calvinism has often run into Universalism, as, for instance, with Mrs. Sherwood, whose *Fairchild Family* has been the torment of many a poor child of evangelical stock. But the whole drift of Edwards's thoughts points in the other direction. He was much more likely from natural severity of temper to fall in with the views expressed in a Puritan pamphlet (described by Bishop Rust), advocating the final damnation of all men. But it is a curious testimony to Jonathan Edwards's greatness, that Oliver Wendell Holmes should go out of his way so often and so far to get a chance of a kick at his teachings.

—Mr. E. Walford, projector and editor of the London *Antiquary*, has resigned his position on that periodical, and intends to issue a new magazine on the same plan.

—The third International Geographical Congress will be held at Venice next September, under the auspices of the Italian Geographical Society of Rome.

—Mr. James Stillié, of Edinburgh, who has the largest stock of second-hand books in Scotland, has recently printed a catalogue, the preface of which consists of a hitherto unedited piece of Sir Walter Scott's, entitled "The Aspirations of Christopher Corduroy." The hero became convinced that his name should be spelled *Cœur du Roy*, thus relating him to the Douglas, in whose arms the heart has a prominent place. The piece is said to have no special merit.

—Perhaps the best bibliography of French books is contained in the sixty-eight volumes of *La Bibliographie de la France*, originally projected and edited by Beuchot, and now under the editorship of M. Blanchot, secretary of the Trade's Club. One of the best guides to French books published in this century is the work of J. M. Querard, "*La Littérature Française Contemporaine*." The story of the life of Joseph Marie Querard is painfully interesting. As a bibliographer, he fought for half a century in Paris against poverty and the innumerable enemies which his soured and bitter nature obtained for him. His work in five volumes, bearing the title "Literary deceptions unveiled; Gallery of apocryphal, feigned, disguised and plagiarizing Authors, and infidel French Writers during the last Four Centuries," made him legions of enemies. One of his victims brought a suit and recovered \$400 and costs. The elder Disraeli's works are not more interesting than these works of Querard; his keen scent for rogues, and his skill in following up a clue, were wonderful. He died a pauper, and was buried in the Potters' Field; but his friends rescued his body and erected a monument to his memory.

—The director of the bureau of statistics at Vienna has made some interesting researches concerning the comparative longevity of women and men in Europe. He finds that out of 102,831 individuals who have passed the age of 90 years, 60,303 are women, and only 42,528 are men. In Italy 241 alleged centenarian women are found for 141 men of that age.

—By a curious happening, just as the papers are telling about a revolt there, the *Californian* contains a six-page account of Andorra, the Pyrenean Republic, which Napoleon the First allowed to exist because it was a "political curiosity and could do no harm." The writer paid a visit to the little six-by-nine spot, which claims to have been a republic since Charlemagne's day, and as his narrative gives many more details than the cyclopedias, the curious reader will be interested in it. The only other individual articles of the *Californian* are Mr. J. P. Whitney's argument for the erection of Lower California into a separate State,—basing his reasoning upon the geographical, climatic and commercial differences between the upper and lower half of the State,—and an article on taxation in California.

—Last week, a typographical error, resulting from reading the XIVth century for the XIXth, was the cause of our miscalling the new book on which Mr. J. Brander Matthews is now engaged, and which is to appear early in the fall. It is to be called "French Dramatists of the Nineteenth Century," and is to contain studies of the chief playwrights of France. It will include the essays on Sardou and Augier from the *International Review*, on Labiche, from the *Atlantic*, and on Meilhac and Halévy from *Lippincott's*.

—American readers who noticed a curious correspondence on the pecuniary gains of the literary calling, which gave value to the Contributor's Club in several successive numbers of the *Atlantic* a year or two ago, may be interested in the "Confessions of an Author," in the January *Belgravia*. Some of its facts and figures are interesting. Within twenty years, during ten of which he also followed the law, the writer declares that he made a sum not far from forty-five thousand dollars, say, four thousand a year. He notes that after he had published two novels elsewhere, Dickens gave him an order for a serial for *All The Year Round*, fixing the price at \$2,500. The article is anonymous, but from internal evidence it is an easy task to declare the writer,—although none of the English papers seem to have been smart enough to do it. He is obviously Mr. Percy Fitzgerald, best known as the author of a well-made Life of David Garrick, and of an ill-made and shamefully near-sighted biography of Alexandre Dumas.

—M. Arsène Houssaye's new history of the Comédie Française is a fine atlas folio, adorned with numerous cuts in the text, and also thirty-two full page photogravure portraits of the chief actors of the first theatre of the world.

—The smallest book in the world, so far as known, is a book recently discovered in Florence, Italy. It is an *Office de la Vierge*, printed at Venice, by Juntas, in 1549. It consists of 256 minute pages, printed on a single sheet of ordinary book size, red and black letters, and bound in red morocco, with gilt edges, raised bands or fillets, the chargings and clasps in silver. The size of this little typographical *chef-d'oeuvre* is two inches in length by an inch and a quarter breadth.

—A well-known collector of engravings, M. Salomon-Lieutaud (who died at Paris in 1879, at the age of 85 years), left four MS. volumes of portraits, under the title: "General List of French Personages." It is expected that it will soon be published. Lovers of engravings will look with interest for the appearance of so rare a treasure.

—Énouard Rouveyre (7 Rue des Saints-Pères, Paris), announces "Connaissances Nécessaires à un Bibliophile," 3d ed., 2 vols. crown 8vo, price, 5 francs per vol. Two other rare works, issued by the same publisher, are the "Index Librorum Prohibitorum," and the "Centuria Librorum Absconditorum," of each of which only 250 copies were printed, at 125 francs each.

—Up to the present time, the literary *cercles* of Paris have been inspired, in respect to their interior arrangements, by the London clubs, which have served as models for them. But it is said that the tables are turning. Certain English men of letters, ar-

ists and journalists, as well as some "men of the world," have conceived the idea of establishing a *cercle* in London, like that of the *Mirlitons* in Paris. The idea is that the Falstaff Club, situated near Covent Garden, shall give amateur concerts and dramatic representations, in which the members of the "Cercle" will take part. This is the first instance of the opening of a "Cercle" in London.

—Paris has a new poet, M. Hippolyte Buffenoir, whose recent volume, entitled "*Les Allures Viriles*," places him, in the opinion of trustworthy critics, among the best contemporary poets of France. He was already known as a prominent Radical in political matters and author of one or two works. Of the present work M. Camille Delaville says: "A strong gale of philosophy blows through the book, and at the same time a delicate, perfumed breeze of love breathes through it and stirs its leaves; after having read it, the man of the world will dream, in spite of himself, of the vast horizon of human life, and women will think her happy who inspired such verses." The following lines will both justify this praise and serve as a specimen of the poet's powers; the poem is entitled "*Combat Stérile*:"—

"Je me suis demandé s'il était sur la terre
Une ivresse assez douce, un bonheur assez fort,
Pour calmer un moment la soif qui nous altère,
Et voiler, sous nos yeux, le spectre de la mort.
J'ai cherché, j'ai cherché, durant les nuits sereines,
L'énigme de ce monde où nous sommes jetés:
Comme l'athlète antique, au milieu des arènes,
Regardait sans pâlir les lions irrités,
Éplongeait dans leurs flancs son glaive redoutable.
Ainsi moi, j'ai voulu mesurer ma valeur,
Je me suis approché du sphinx épouvantable,
Et j'ai sondé les flancs de l'humaine douleur!"

The title of the volume is a strange one and hardly translatable by the words "Manly Steps."

—A grave and erudite work on Democracy is the recent "*Droit Divin de la Démocratie*," of M. Théodore Viebert. The author thinks that the future of Democracy cannot fall outside of the lines of Christianity.

—An English traveller in France writes as follows of an aristocratic bazaar in Paris: "It chanced recently that I went into a store to inquire the price of some articles that I had seen displayed in the window. As I entered, I was struck with the variety of articles for sale—toys, vases, jewels, flowers, ladies' hats, etc., and still more by the conversation between buyers and sellers: 'Pardon, Baroness, will you hand me this little basket?' 'May I ask you, Countess, to do up these pieces of porcelain?' 'Will you take 50 francs, Marquise, for this frame that I have bought?' At first I took this for a piece of mystification, but recognized in a moment some of the saleswomen, and found that by chance I had entered the open shop in No. 36 Boulevard Haussman, the income of which is devoted to ladies in needy circumstances, who themselves make the greater part of the low-priced articles offered for sale. Fifteen or twenty ladies of the highest classes in society officiate in turn as saleswomen in this permanent bazaar."

—The excavations at Olympia will be continued till the end of February. A present of 20,000 marks from a lady in Berlin makes it possible to considerably increase the working force during these last months. Recent discoveries are of the highest interest. By means of an architectural inscription discovered, it has been possible to identify with the greatest certainty the treasure-house of the Sicyonians, who had been believed to be entirely annihilated. This is a work of the 7th century, B. C., and its discovery is of very great importance to the history of architecture.

FINANCE.

NEW YORK, February 2, 1881.

IT is fast becoming apparent that the conditions which govern the strength of the stock market are of a purely speculative character. It is true that there has been no real change in the general financial situation, but the local influences which determine the movement of prices at the New York Stock Exchange, so far as they can be traced, are not favorable to over-sanguine believers in a further advance in prices. Here and there may be detected signs which smack strongly of a culmination of the great "bull" speculation of 1880. It has been frequently noticed in this column that the investment demand for stocks ceased one or two months ago, and that the foreign demand for the American securities was gradually becoming a speculative one. While it is true that the country is in a condition of prosperity surpassing all former experiences, it must be remembered that interest-paying securities of every description have made, since last summer, an almost equally unparalleled advance. For the past month the market may be said to have been kept up by constant doses of stimulants. Conservative investors long ago had been tempted to surrender their holdings by the appreciation in the market value which had taken place from the time when they first made their purchases. Conservative operators on the street long ago withdrew, appalled at the extent of the general advance in prices. The consequence was that many professional speculators, who had miscalculated the degree to which a discounting of a probable favorable future could be carried, found themselves, when the new year opened, with large amounts of stocks on their hands. As near as can be judged, the apparent "bull" confidence of the past month has been maintained by the efforts of these holders to create a market on which to unload their stocks.

A point has now been reached where the immediate future of the market probably depends on the ability of the holders of stocks to maintain a speculative confidence and excitement until they can "get out." Who the people are who still hold stocks, cannot be absolutely ascertained, and all guesses as to the amount of their holdings must be wild ones; but it is true that many large operators have within the last week sold out the last of their "holdings." Their influence may not, for the moment, be thrown vigorously against the market, but, nevertheless, it is naturally on the side that desires to see lower prices. The recent Western Union "deal" appears to have contributed largely toward what might be termed a premature precipitation of the recent considerable change in the speculative temper. Some of the best friends of Mr. William H. Vanderbilt lost money heavily by last month's speculation in Western Union. Where one reputed friend of Mr. Gould lost money by selling Western Union "short" at the time

the consolidation scheme was incubating, a dozen houses, which, in the past have received correct "points" as to Mr. Vanderbilt's manœuvres, are out of pocket. Beyond a doubt, operators who had faith in a "bull" market up to Spring, were compelled by their lessons in Western Union to realize profits on the long stocks which they held. Besides this pecuniary necessity, a general disgust was also engendered by the manner in which the consolidation project was conceived and put forth.

Outside of professional operators, the speculating public also within the last week has shown pronounced hesitation in touching stocks at present prices. It is true that heavy purchases are made by the speculative public, of special stocks on special "points," but generally the disposition of outside operators is to ask advice of their brokers, instead of confidently giving promiscuous orders to buy stocks. Nine brokers out of ten, it is needless to say, throw all the responsibility of purchases on their customers.

The month of January, just closed, will long be remembered on Wall street. The total transactions in stocks for the month amounted to 12,692,906 shares, against 8,500,472 shares in January, 1880, and 6,615,648 shares in January, 1879. Western Union led the list in the amount of transactions, followed by Erie common, these two stocks monopolizing about 21 per cent. of the entire business done. Nearly 50 per cent. of all the transactions consisted of purchases and sales of Western Union, Erie, Ontario and Western, Union Pacific, Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, Pacific Mail, Lake Shore and New Jersey Central. It is significant, however, that at the close of the month, while the recently active "fancies" show enormous gains, stocks like Lake Shore, Michigan Central, New York Central, Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, Rock Island, and Chicago and Alton, were from about 3 to 10 per cent. below the final quotations of December 1, 1880. The features of the month were the manipulation in Western Union, which has been fully referred to in these columns; the movement in the coal stocks, which advanced their prices to figures which ruled when anthracite coal was selling at \$5 and \$6 a ton higher than it sells to-day, and the extraordinary speculation, which was only recently developed, however, in the low price shares of almost every description.

The transactions of the past week have exhibited alternate spasms of strength and weakness. During the week, the changed local conditions of the speculation referred to above have been, it may be said, almost prominently manifested. The dividend-paying stocks, with scarcely an exception, closed 2 to 5 per cent. below last week's final quotations. There was a wonderful speculation, however, in the low-priced shares, and enormous advances were scored for them. Almost all stocks that had ever been admitted to the Stock Exchange, though they represented roads which it will take years to develop to any degree of prosperity, were brought out, traded in extensively, and advanced 5 to 10 per cent. To some conservative brokers, this speculation in the fancies indicates, more than almost anything else, that the stock market is not in a healthy state. It will be remembered that almost all of our "bull" speculations have reached their climax when speculation, exhausted by its working in advancing investment stocks, turns for new stimulants to the lesser lights of the list.

The railroad bond market has also resembled the stock market in its characteristics, to a certain extent. Investment bonds have been lightly dealt in, but there has been great activity in the income bonds and other junior issues, and a heavy advance in their prices. State bonds continue comparatively dull, but with a general firmness of tone. Government bonds have presented few noteworthy features and the market has, as a rule, been easier. Little may be expected, however, from this market, until some decisive action is taken by the Senate regarding the funding bill.

Money on call has been alternately easy and close; but there was generally a good

supply, the prevailing rate being 5 per cent., with exceptions at 4 and 6 per cent. The rates on Governments have been growing easy and may be quoted at 3 to 4 per cent.

The terms of the proposed consolidation of the Western Union, the American Union and the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Companies have been officially announced. For the surrender of its \$10,000,000 stock and \$5,000,000 bonds, the American Union Company is to receive \$15,000,000 new Western Union stock. For its 140,000 shares, (\$14,000,000) the Atlantic and Pacific obtains 84,000 shares (\$8,400,000) of new Western Union stock. After the exchange of these 234,000 shares (\$23,400,000), the Western Union stockholders will receive the remainder of the proposed issue of 800,000 shares, including the Atlantic and Pacific stock and the Western Union stock held in the Western Union treasury. The Western Union Company assumes all the contracts of the other corporations, excepting the contract between the American Union and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company. Possession of its acquired property is to be taken by the Western Union by February 24, but the consolidation agreement, so far as it affects the other companies' earnings and expenditures, is to date from January 1, 1881. Now that the consummation of the consolidation appears to be approaching, our State Legislature has broken out with a bill to prevent any such future transactions, which has passed the Assembly, and now awaits the action of the Senate. The practical value of the measure, so far as it affects the Gould-Vanderbilt union, is questionable, as to prevent the success of that scheme, its scope must be retroactive.

There was manifested considerable interest during the past week regarding Central Pacific stock, by reason of the dispute which has arisen between the railroad company and the United States Government. Some time ago, the company's directors declared a dividend of 3 per cent., payable on February 1. Auditor of Railroad Accounts French denied the right of the company to declare the dividend, on the ground that the surplus net earnings of the company during the last year had not been sufficient, were the dividend paid, to meet the regular interest, expenses and other demands on the company, without leaving a deficit. He estimated the deficit to be \$737,374. It is claimed by the company that it is not required, by either law or usage, to declare its dividends from the earnings of any particular period, the stockholders having a right to the distribution of any surplus on hand which might have accumulated since the company was organized. Although involving other questions, this is the main point of the dispute, and, to settle it, a suit has been begun by the Government against the company in the United States District Court in this city. A *pro forma* injunction, to restrain the payment of the dividend, was granted, but the officers of the company secured the Government against any possible loss, in case it should win the suit, by filing a bond of \$750,000. The dividend accordingly was paid yesterday (Tuesday). Little doubt is generally expressed as to the ultimate result of the test suit in the favor of the Central Pacific Company.

The railway journals are beginning to furnish interesting statistics regarding the past year's history of the country's railroad system. In 1880 there were 31 railroads sold under foreclosure, having a total debt of \$166,568,000, and a capital of \$97,313,700. These figures seem amazing, in view of the general supposition that the era of railway bankruptcy had ended two or three years ago. The record, however, compares favorably with that of 1879, when 65 roads were sold under foreclosure, whose mileage was 4,909 miles, and in which \$243,288,000 of capital had been invested. The total capital represented in last year's bankrupt roads was \$263,882,000, but the mileage was only 3,775 miles. The new cases of bankruptcy last year, however, were small in number, and only a comparatively few roads now remain in the hands of receivers, so that it is expected that the record for this year will be much more encouraging.

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